

Inland Seas



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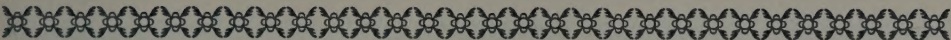
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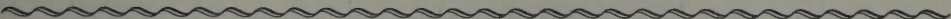
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The Devil and Champlain

By FRANK R. KRAMER



FEW OF THE MAGNIFICENTLY MAD EXPLORERS of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who naively supposed that they could reach the riches of the Orient more quickly across the American continent than by digging straight through the center of the earth were better prepared for their mission than Samuel de Champlain. The smell of gunpowder was as familiar to his nostrils as the perfumed wiggyery of Paris; he knew with equal thoroughness the minutely-measured distances of map-making, as Royal Geographer in the court of Henry IV, and the long sea miles between the French coast and the Mexican Indians. To well-filled sails of experience he added the stout rigging of character: courage, perseverance, tact, piety and vision — all were his. As he sailed into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence in 1603, one thing alone was lacking to the success of his exploratory venture into the Canadian wilderness — an area manual on the history and culture of devils.

Hardly had he rounded the cliffs of the Gaspé Peninsula when he came to grips with the first of the demons that held the New World in fief. It was a portent of what was to come, of the hosts of devils that would contest his passing the rapids and portaging the falls, until finally he overcame them and became, in the eyes of the savages, himself a benevolent spirit.

"There is still one strange thing," wrote Champlain, "worthy of an account, which many savages have assured me was true; that is, that near the Bay of Heat, toward the south, there is an island where a frightful monster makes his home, which the savages call Gougou, and which they told me had the form of a woman, but very terrible, and of such a size that they told me the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach to his waist, so great do they represent him; and they say that he has often

eaten up and still continues to eat up many savages; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterwards he eats them; and those who had escaped the danger of this awful beast said that its pocket was so great that it could have put our vessel into it. This monster makes horrible noises in this island, which the savages call the Gougou; and when they speak of it, it is with unutterable fear, and several have assured me that they have seen him. Even . . . *Sieur Prevert* from *St. Malo* told me that, while going in search of mines . . . he passed so near the haunt of this terrible beast, that he and all those on board his vessel heard strange hissings from the noise she (*sic!*) made, and that the savages with him told him it was the same creature, and that they were so afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear that she would come and carry them off."

And then this sober, seasoned explorer makes a candid admission. "What makes me believe what they say is the fact that all the savages in general fear her, and tell such strange things of her that, if I were to record all they say of her, it would be considered as idle tales, but I hold that this is the dwelling-place of some devil that torments them in the manner described. This is what I have learned about this Gougou."

Sailing up the *St. Lawrence* in a ship of more than ten tons, *Champlain* could afford to dismiss the Gougou: the sturdy vessel and the narrative of *Jacques Cartier*, who almost a century before had ascended the river to the site of *Montreal*, made the odds reasonably safe. But it was another matter when, ten years later, *Champlain* reached the rapids that boiled in disheartening succession near *Montreal* and on up the *Ottawa River* — long the highway of the *Algonquins* and *Hurons* and after *Champlain* the route of French missionaries, explorers, and traders to the western Great Lakes for almost two hundred years. "He that would passe them, must fit himself with the Canoes of the Sauvages, which one may easily carrie . . . And beside this first Sault (rapid), there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to pass . . . They [the Indians] told us, that beyond the first Sault that we had seene, they trauelled some ten or fiteene leagues with their Canoes in the Riuer where there is a riuier [the *Ottawa*] which runneth to the dwelling of the *Algoumequins* [*Algonquins*] . . . and then they passed fiew Saults [the *Cascades*, *Split*

Rock, Cedar and Coteau Rapids], which may containe from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carrie their Canoas to passe them: euery Sault may containe halfe a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most."

Such was the highway to the Orient — enough to turn back any but the most intrepid explorer, the most incurable dreamer. Being both, Champlain would not be discouraged. "The strong love which I have always cherished for the exploration of New France," he once testified in the tone of a credo, "has made me desirous of extending more and more my travels over the country, in order, by means of its numerous rivers, lakes, and streams, to obtain at last a complete knowledge of it, and also to become acquainted with the inhabitants . . . to learn the language, and form relations and friendships with the leading men of the villages and tribes, in order to lay the foundations of a permanent edifice, as well for the glory of God as for the renown of the French."

Now if ever the time was ripe for furthering these high-sounding aims. Ten years of forthright diplomacy had earned him the respect of the Indians and the ear of such men as Jeannin, the royal superintendent of finance. And last year he had secured a commission from Louis XIII with such sweeping powers as to make him — on paper at least — the actual ruler of New France. But prestige and powers must have seemed feeble and far away when, on May 27, 1613, he reached the great Montreal rapids. Here two years earlier his "hair stood on end to see such an awful place"; here he had run the rapids to prove to the Indians that he was not afraid and then admitted candidly: "Even the bravest people in the world who have not seen nor passed this place in small boats such as theirs, could not do so without great apprehension." He was perhaps the first European to shoot these rapids; in 1535 Jacques Cartier, though he had laughed down Chief Donnaconna's dire warning not to flaunt the wrath of Coudouagni, god of the rapids, had turned back. More than half a century from now the veteran Louis Joliet, returning from his epochal tour of the Mississippi, would capsize here, losing his maps and papers, in sight of the city now rising on the shore.

Once again, at the entrance of this American Avernus, Champlain with four Frenchmen (including the infamous young Nicolas du Vignau,

who had promised to lead him to Hudson Bay) and one Indian guide found himself trespassing on the domain of aboriginal demons — twelve miles of whirling, weaving waters known as the Long Sault. "The rapidity of the current is so great," Champlain reported, "that it makes a terrible noise, and in pouring down from one layer of rock to another it makes so much white foam everywhere that the water cannot be seen at all." Caught in another white hell on the Gatineau River not far to the west, the Récollet brother Gabriel Sagard had asked his guides how such things could be. "They replied that it was the devil's doing or the devil himself." The trees on the bank stood trunk to trunk; portaging was impossible. Champlain was forced to drag his canoe with a rope wound around his hand. "As I was drawing mine," he continued, "I thought I was lost, because it swerved into one of the whirlpools, and if I had not, fortunately, fallen between two rocks, the canoe would have dragged me in . . . In this danger I cried to God, and began to pull my canoe, which was returned to me by a back current, such as is found in these rapids. Having escaped, I praised God, begging Him to preserve us . . . As for our Frenchmen, they did not have any better luck, and several times they expected to lose their lives, but the Divine Goodness kept us all safe."

And this was only the first of the rapids. The northwest passage was a grim carnival — now a roller coaster, jerking the canoe suddenly ahead and shooting it breathlessly over and between the rocks, now a tunnel of horrors in which spirit hands reached up to grasp the canoe and overturn Indian and Frenchman alike with Plutonic impartiality. It was the playground of the devil, in fact was created by Ta we' ska re (or Tawiscara) himself, the evil brother, as the Hurons (whom Champlain was soon to visit) spun the tale. The good brother Tse' sta,' they said, had made the land smooth and rolling, the forests clear. He had added all kinds of trees with fruits convenient to the hand, blackberries, strawberries, raspberries in vast clusters, maple with syrup coming out when the tree was tapped. Fish he made without scales, and — the supreme gift in this Huron utopia — had arranged the river currents so that they flowed down with the down-stream paddler and back when he returned. But when the evil twin Ta we' ska re saw what his brother had done, he flew into a rage. He threw up mountains on the rolling

hills, spread barren wastes, shrivelled the berries and gave them thorns, coated the fish with flinty scales, and filled the rivers with falls and rapids.

Safely past the first Stygian barrier, they fought their way to Chaudière Falls (a literal translation of Asticou, "the Boiler") in the present city of Ottawa, — "the most wonderful, dangerous, and terrifying of all," says Sagard in awe; "for it is wider than a full three-eighths part of a league." Dropping over wide flat ledges, it now roars with less ferocity than the traffic moving north over the bridge to the right of the rapids between Chaudière and Philemon Islands; but early nineteenth-century sketches reveal its original grandeur. Wherever else along the Ottawa the devil may have ranged, here in this fearful splendor he had his throne, and "these poor people are so superstitious that they would not believe it possible for them to make a prosperous journey without observing this ceremony at this place." Champlain watches the savages with half-amused, half-understanding interest while "one of them takes up a collection with a wooden plate, into which each one puts a bit of tobacco. The collection having been made, the plate is passed in the midst of the troupe, and all dance about it, singing after their style. Then one of the captains makes an harangue, setting forth that for a long time they have been accustomed to make this offering, by which they are insured protection against their enemies, that otherwise misfortune would befall them, as they are convinced by the evil spirit . . . This done, the maker of the harangue takes the plate, and throws the tobacco into the midst of the caldron, whereupon they all together raise a loud cry."

Accumulating courage and agility for perhaps a hundred years in this region, the Indians grappled with the devils of the Ottawa rapids whenever there was a chance of success and learned to save their lives by appeasement and portaging whenever there was not. It was a matter of skill and sorcery — what they could not win by the one they maneuvered by the other. And so when Champlain, who apparently had neither, appeared miraculously on the lovely waters of little Muskrat Lake a few miles east of Allumette Lake, Chief Nibachis, "who came to visit us with his followers, astonished that we could have passed the falls and bad roads in order to reach them," was struck with awe at this visitation.

"After offering us tobacco, according to their custom, he began to address his companions, saying, that we must have fallen from the clouds, for he knew not how we could have made the journey, and that they who lived in the country had much trouble in traversing these bad ways: and he gave them to understand that I accomplished all that I set my mind upon: in short, that he believed respecting me all that the other savages had told him." And a little farther up the Ottawa at Allumette Lake Chief Tessoüat, whom Champlain had met at Tadoussac in 1603 and again at Lachine Rapids eight years later, "was greatly amazed to see me, saying that he thought I was a dream, and that he did not believe his eyes."

Tessoüat might have been paddling through pools of metaphor; the Indians loved nothing better than excursions into the metaphorical, and "unless you accustom yourself to it," said the Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf, "you will understand nothing in their councils, where they speak almost entirely in metaphors." But there was nothing figurative, as Champlain well knew, in the chief's exclamation. He had met with the astonishing effect of dreams in this country four years ago — when he had led a party of his Indian allies on a raid against the Iroquois near the lake that bears his name. As they approached the enemy camp, they became apprehensive about "how much of their undertakings would succeed" and repeatedly asked him whether he had dreamed. To each query he answered no. But by this time he may have remembered what he had learned in the previous year at Quebec. "They believe also that all the dreams that they have are true; and, in fact, there are a great many of them who say that they have seen and dreamed things which have come to pass or will take place." He had, at any rate, a providential visitation: he dreamed that he saw the Iroquois in a lake, drowning. "When I woke up they did not fail to ask me, as is their custom, if I had dreamed anything. I told them the substance of what I had dreamed. This gave them so much faith that they no longer doubted that good was to befall them." The Jesuits were soon to think that dreams were "the master of their lives," "the God of the country." Dreams, according to tribal lore, were inspired by demons — good and bad, and dreams were the media of their materialization. Champlain's materialization at

Allumette Lake, like that of the demons, belonged to the world of dreams.

Would to heaven, Champlain must have thought, his unexpected appearance among these far-off Algonquins had been as easy as taking shape from a dream, or as simple as dropping from the skies. He was quite ready, however, to agree with the Indians that there was a touch of the supernatural in his escape from so many diabolical whirlpools and not the least unwilling to accept their awed esteem. Two years later, among the Hurons, he would come to appreciate how deeply embedded in savage folk-belief their credulity was. "Whenever they see a man doing something extraordinary," he learned, "or furthermore who is in a rage as if out of his reason and senses, they call him *oqui*,* or, as we should say, a great knowing spirit, or a great devil." The man who had tamed the turbulent demons from the St. Lawrence to Allumette Lake must be himself an *oki*, or demon.

The extraordinary skill, strength or cleverness, the unusual shape or appearance, the unexpected event — these were the works of the devil or manifestations of the devil himself. The Indians, wrote Father Bresani forty years after, had "a superstitious regard for anything that savored a little of the uncommon." It was a conception permeating the tribal world from the familiar demons or good-luck charms (the *Ascwandic* or *Aaskouandy*) which everyone carried in his dried-skin pouch in the form of odd stones or eagle claws or snake-skins to the unseen powers that moved and regulated the universe. It appears in an old Huron maxim with a mingling of superstition and practical humor "that skill, strength, and vigilance are the most powerful *Aaskouandy* that a man can have." The medicine-man, as doctor and priest of the tribe, enjoyed his share of respect for the mysterious. "Ordained" in his *oki*-hood after an *oki* had entered his body, he maintained his exceptional status, Champlain discovered, by healing the sick, predicting future events, "in short, by practicing all abuses and delusions of the Devil." And finally, the vast, inexplicable play of elemental powers over Huronia gave proof through the sky that the *okis* were there.

* Spelled also *oki* or *uki*.

And so when Chief Nibachis harangued his followers on the miraculous appearance of this man who accomplished all that he set his mind upon, he was not merely giving him the keys to the village, or even conferring an honorary chieftainship upon him. He was according his unexpected guest the place of distinction in the tribal world of spirits which his astonishing exploit seemed to warrant. We in this day have a way of doing the same thing — of regarding a saintly man, for example, as one apart from the rest of us, as a saint akin to the spirits.

How much of all this did Champlain appreciate or take seriously? Did he recognize what it might mean to him in furthering his explorations, in smoothing the rapids and shortening the route to Cathay? Especially now, when he was striking out on his own? The friendly Hurons, who might have furnished him canoes and guides, had not come down to the Lachine rapids this season to trade. He was dependent upon the tribes he visited for everything he needed and could expect little from the Allumette tribe, who were middlemen on the Ottawa and would not take kindly to the prospect of his dealing directly with the tribes of the interior (on occasion they refused passage even to the Jesuit missionaries). Champlain was no novice in Indian relations: in the ten years since he had turned westward over the St. Lawrence he had learned that the impact of a man's extraordinary audacity in plunging confidently into perils terrifying to the Indians themselves was an effective force — as effective as guns, promises and threats in winning their cooperation. Yet there is no hint in his memoirs that his reception was anything but a passing tribal tribute to his daring. He would not, of course, discover how closely he fitted the part of an *oki* until his visit to the Hurons two years later. But if he entertained any thoughts whatever of reaching the North Sea on the wings of his reputation, they were suddenly interrupted by the dramatic disclosure that Vignau had grossly deceived him — a disclosure as challenging to his diplomatic adroitness as the rapids had been to his courage.

Vignau's unmasking began innocently enough: Champlain set before Chief Tessoüat his plan of finding a trade route to the North Sea (he neglected to mention the map Vignau had shown him in France on the strength of which he had spent a year of preparation and was now risk-

ing his life in the rapids) and asked for four canoes to continue his trip as far as the Lake Nipissing tribe. The chief, his one eye cocked on the threat of his own monopoly if this determined explorer should succeed in his plan, replied with a shrewd mixture of sound sense and superstition. He described "again the difficulty of the roads, the number of rapids, the wickedness of those tribes" (the Nipissings had a widespread reputation as sorcerers). The story is a familiar one to Champlain's biographers, who tell it with deep relish:

how Champlain countered that he had Vignau's word that he had been in the country of the Nebicerini [Nipissing Indians];

how Tessoüat, whose island was the northernmost point Vignau had reached, turned upon the young imposter: "If you have been among these people, it was while you were asleep . . . You are a scoundrel, and he [Champlain] ought to put you to death more cruelly than we do our enemies";

how Thomas, the interpreter, came to the distracted Champlain shortly after this staccato by-play with the intelligence that Tessoüat had sent a canoe secretly to the Nebicerini to inform them of the Frenchman's coming.

This was highly disturbing news. What further obstructions did the old chief have in mind? In a few days, Champlain felt, the whole atmosphere had changed: when he arrived, the chief had hailed him as a man of unusual — even supernatural — talents; now he was impugning Champlain's faith in his guide and trying to block his passage into the interior. But there was still a chance to save face and recover the advantage: he might coax or promise, bluff and threaten, or indulge the vagaries of savage superstition. Few historians can bring themselves to mention his choice — the dream superstition. "Thereupon," he says, "in order to profit by the opportunity, I went to the savages to tell them, that I had dreamed the past night that they purposed to send a canoe to the Nebicerini without notifying me of it, at which I was greatly surprised, since they knew that I was desirous of going there."

It was Tessoüat's turn to pull himself out of the rapids of intrigue. He may have had his suspicions; but a dream was too subjective, too much a part of his own beliefs, for him to question it. Instead, he denounced Vignau's malicious deception so vehemently that the Indians were ready to "tear him apart." Champlain was now convinced (his early doubts about Vignau's veracity had grown greater as he had led him — against the Indians' advice — into more and more rock-choked channels), but he

wanted to hear the confession from the lips of "our liar" himself. He took him aside and threatened to hang and strangle him if he persisted in his hoax. Vignau confessed.

What now should he do with the impostor? To release him to the fury of the savages was unthinkable; no Frenchman, himself included, would be safe in the future. Years later Duluth, already launched on a trip into the unknown regions west of Lake Superior, turned back when he heard that a party of La Salle's men (his rivals for the glory of opening the west) was in the hands of the Sioux and paddled down the Mississippi to rescue them. And Champlain could scarcely jeopardize his reputation by delegating his responsibilities to Tessoüat. Characteristically, he moved promptly but with cautious restraint — with something of the same qualities that had brought him so far up the Ottawa. He set loose the cowering Vignau not to the Indians who were clamoring for him but to the wilderness he had falsely claimed to know.

Champlain had lost little by acknowledging the justice of Tessoüat's accusations — either of his own standing or of future French security. His explorations, of course, had run into a dead end. But he had had a more intimate glimpse of the streams of Indian behavior — currents as important to his purposes as the route to Hudson Bay. In grappling with the demons of the rapids and the demonic in men's minds, he learned that it was the unusual in a man's character that impressed these Indians most deeply, that drew from them an awed respect charged with the atmosphere of spirit-worship. White men, too, respect character, but no such tribal lore lies beneath their feeling.

The discovery held interesting possibilities for Champlain's present plans; he found no difficulty, for instance, in exploiting his reputation to bring a trading flotilla of forty canoes back over the long route to the St. Lawrence. Moreover, the folk-belief that set him among the *okis* might prove to be a useful formula — a formula for transmuting the base metal of dependency into a golden potential for assistance and negotiation. On his second ascent up the Ottawa River two years later, Chiefs Nibachis and Tessoüat received him with feasts, outfitted him with provisions, and sent him on his way to the Nipissiriniens.

All the facets of his relations with the Indians glowed with the dominant hue of his personality, enhanced as it was by superstition. We see it when he is trading with them, exploring with their help, or leading them into skirmishes with the Iroquois. It is at its brightest when he is arbitrating their disputes, war-breeding disputes like the one he was called upon to settle between the Hurons and Algonquins during his stay in Huronia in the winter of 1615-1616. Here he is no head of a great trading company, no captain of arquebusiers, no spokesman of the king. He is in the sorry plight of impatiently accepting the hospitality of the Hurons after having been carried back to Huronia with a wound suffered in the fiasco against the Iroquois a few months before. And yet his word commands respect because, as Morris Bishop says pregnantly, "of the recognizable integrity of his spirit." And this, as the Indians recognized also in the Vignau affair, is the stuff that *okis* are made of.

What we are saying seems like a truism — until we become involved in explaining the success or failure of the French in America through the policies of statesmen and fur companies (how strange they must have seemed at times to native diplomats!) and forget that the Indians saw these policies only in the personalities of the men who tried to carry them out. In time the *compagnie des marchands* became popularly known in France as the *compagnie de Champlain*; to the Indians it had never been anything else. It was all very well to come to Canada armed with a gun and a commission from Louis XIII empowering the holder with the right to make treaties, propagate the faith, build forts. The next step was to make it mean something to the Indians, to deal with tribal behavior. It was better, in short, to be linked with the *okis* than with the king.

But we must say no more of Champlain and what he learned about *okis* and demons. After all, we can see the impact of the extraordinary more clearly in the events of a few years later than in Champlain's stray notes. We can trace it in the superstitious transformation of the Jesuit missionaries into gods and devils. We see it too in the story of Jean Nicolet, Champlain's young ambassador to the "Chinese" at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and of Nicolas Perrot, whose reception as "wonderful men," that is, as *okis*, helped to lay open to them the waterways of the western Great Lakes.

The Northern Canal of Michigan

By IRMA THOMPSON IRELAND

IN DRIVING NORTH over a good country road between Brant and St. Charles in Saginaw County, Michigan, one crosses what looks like a grass-grown ditch some fifty feet wide at its lowest level. On the west side of a modern culvert there's a tree-bordered swampy stretch of still-water, more pond than stream. To the east the dry ditch spreads out like a pleasant weed-choked meadow with grassy shoulders topped by clumps of trees and outlined here and there with broken lengths of fencing.

What you can see from the road is about all that's left of the old "Northern Canal" once spoken of and written about in Councils of State as the Saginaw and Grand River Canal, but known locally as the Bad River Canal. Unfinished and inconspicuous, unmarked and unsung, this seemingly forgotten ditch was once a part of Michigan's dream of Empire. When completed it was to unite the waters of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan by a continuous chain of navigable rivers, bringing emigrants to clear and settle the new country, providing safe and cheap transportation for supplies and produce and opening up a way of commerce from the Green Bay Country of the northwest territory to eastern markets.

Back in the period of 1827-28, when Michigan territory was in the throes of her first "growing pains," history tells us that "the whole country both east and west was in a veritable frenzy of excitement over the subject of improving its travel and transportation routes. The National Road was being pushed westward through Ohio and the Erie Canal was in successful operation throughout its entire length."¹

1. *History of Travel in America*, by Seymour Dunbar, 1937, p. 828.

Many of Michigan's prominent citizens had recently traveled over the Erie Canal and were enthusiastic over its advantages. So one should not be surprised to learn that on November 27th, 1827, there was sent a "Petition to Congress² by inhabitants of the Territory of Michigan to take into consideration the propriety of constructing a canal to unite Lakes Erie and Michigan commencing at the city of Detroit and pursuing a westerly course."

This "Petition" of several pages was written in high-flown impressive language calling attention to all the advantages of such a canal not only to Michigan but to the United States Government as well.

"We ask not one dollar from the public chest; we ask land that might remain unsold for years; we ask the United States to pursue a course that will fill their coffers from the sale of lands in the vicinity of the contemplated Canal."

This remarkable document was signed by 106 "Sundry Citizens of Michigan" hopefully and prayerfully. It was dispatched to Congress where it was duly noted and referred to the Committee on Roads and Canals, there to remain forever behind the "paper curtain" of oblivion.

But Michigan's "Sundry Citizens," though disappointed were not downed. They tried again in February 1831³ with the additional prestige of a covering letter from Governor Cass to the President of the Senate. This time they asked that a topographical survey be made of the country lying between the waters of "Sagana and Grand Rivers . . . to determine the practicability and expediency of connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan through those streams by means of a canal."

Copies of this Memorial were sent to the President of the United States (Andrew Jackson), the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, and the delegate in Congress from Michigan. This time after proper endorsement by Congress it was referred to the Committee on Internal Improvements and was "laid on the table" as of March 2nd, 1831.

2. *Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 2, *Michigan Territory*, 1820-1829.

3. *Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 12, *Michigan Territory*, 1829-1837.

On July 12th, 1831 President Jackson commissioned young Stevens T. Mason as Secretary of the territory to serve during the enforced absence of his father. He was sworn into office on the 25th of July by Governor Lewis Cass. In July also Governor Cass was called to Washington to assume cabinet duties as Secretary of War, and on the 6th of August, George B. Porter was appointed Governor. Early in October he was recalled to his home in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for business reasons and young Stevens T. Mason, not yet 21 years of age, began his service as acting Governor.

There followed the serious problems of approaching statehood for Michigan and establishment of the land beyond Lake Michigan under a separate territorial government. There was also that troublesome controversy over the boundary line between Michigan and Ohio.

With the death of Governor Porter in July 1834 Stevens T. Mason again became acting governor and the great battle of Internal Improvements in Michigan began its historic but disastrous career. In the personal recollections of Judge Albert Miller,⁴ an early settler of Saginaw, we find a good summing up of the situation:

Early in the history of the State Government a loan of \$5,000,000 was negotiated by Governor Mason from the Morris Canal and Banking Company of New Jersey, and on the 25th day of March 1837 a board of commissioners of *Internal Improvements* was appointed. This body of seven men from different parts of the state projected a system of internal improvements consisting of three railroads and two waterways across the lower peninsula. Of local interest was the Bad River Canal⁵ which was intended to connect the waters of the Bad River with those of the Maple, which was to open a waterway between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan.

The people of the Saginaw valley anticipated great results from the projected improvement for all the good reasons advanced by "Sundry citizens of the Territory" in previous ill-fated memorials to Congress and for many good reasons of their own including increased emigration and better outlets for local products.

4. *Incidents in the Early History of Saginaw Valley* by Judge Albert Miller, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, vol. 13.

5. "The Saginaw or Northern Canal was to commence at the forks of the Bad River, 15 miles above Saginaw and terminate at the bend of the Maple, 32 miles from its confluence with the Grand River, its length to be about 14 miles," *Gazetteer of Michigan* by J. T. Blois, 1838, p. 83.

Next came surveys by various engineers and reports as to their findings and recommendations. Among the House Documents of the House of Representatives, Michigan, under the date of January 22nd 1838, is the report of the Board of Commissioners of Internal Improvements, J. Burdick, President:

The Saginaw canal has been surveyed and located, and about 4 miles of the river portion of the canal been put under contract. The report of the engineer, Chas. F. Smith, who had charge of the work herewith transmitted, marked (H). The expense of the survey amounts to \$3,438.36 and there has been expended towards the construction of that work the sum of \$6,434.38.

In House Documents under the date of February 12th, 1838, is the report of J. Almy (Engineer) on the survey of the Maple River with the statement that

the river with sundry improvements can be used for the purposes of navigation.

In the beginning three chief engineers were appointed, each with a salary of \$2,000.00 per year, while assistant engineers were to receive \$1,500.00. In letting of contracts, the work was divided into sections and sealed proposals were received, then the work given to the lowest bidder.⁶

According to Judge Albert Miller's account, the engineers appointed for the work were selected from those who had been employed on the New York and Erie Railroad. Mr. Charles F. Smith, whose report was written into the House Documents of 1838 was from Binghamton, New York. Mr. J. Almy may have been from Saginaw as he mentions that his survey was made at the request of the Hon. Gardner D. Williams, who was the Saginaw member of the State Board of Internal Improvements. A third engineer, one "Tracy McCracken⁷ Esq.," is given credit in the History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties for making a survey of "the route running from the forks of the Bad River in Saginaw County westward to the Maple River at its Big Bend in Gratiot County." Mr. McCracken's report is interesting because he calls attention to "a remarkable valley or depression extending westward from the waters

6. *An Historical Sketch of Internal Improvements in Michigan, 1836-1846*, by Hannah Emily Keith, In, *Michigan Political Science Association Publications*, vol. 4, p. 18.

7. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties Michigan* by Franklin Ellis, 1880, p. 30 ff.

of the Saginaw (river) to those of the Maple and that these waters flowing in opposite directions⁸ were only 3 miles distant from each other at one point and that between them the highest elevation to be crossed was only 72 feet above Lake Michigan.”⁹

Judge Albert Miller continues:

Early in 1838 the contract for construction of the first section extending west from the forks of the Bad River was let to Norman Little of Saginaw. Great expense attended the prosecution of the work on account of its being located 10 miles from any white settlement, thereby adding to the cost of transportation of lumber, supplies, etc., but under the management of the energetic contractor it was prosecuted with vigor. A large amount of lumber was transported to the spot, and timber got out for the coffer dams; and about 100 Irishmen were employed doing the excavating. (It is understood that this ditch digging crew was also imported from New York.)

For a more personal slant on the canal project we have a letter written by Mr. E. L. Wentz¹⁰ describing his experiences as an assistant engineer, who came from his home in Binghamton, New York, with a companion named Alfred Hovey, arriving in the village of Saginaw the evening of July 3rd, 1837. After securing a room in an old log tavern the boys had just \$2.50 between them and were sitting on a log down by the river

8. "The divide between the two streams is hardly perceptible, and in driving across it in the spring we suddenly find water flowing west whereas but a few minutes before we saw it running east. Before the land was cleared and ditched, it was possible in very high water to pass from river to river in a canoe. Thus a continuous waterway existed in the early part of last century and before, from Lake Huron to Lake Michigan." *"Indian Waterways of Saginaw District,"* by Fred Dustin 1934. In, *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, vol. 19 (1934).

9. "There was evidently an error made in the survey, for the engineer reported that the summit to be crossed was only seventy-two feet, whereas the U. S. Geological Survey indicates scarcely any summit whatever and it is fair to suppose that the survey really indicated *the height of the summit above Lake Huron*, in which case the figures would be quite correct. It seems however, that the surface of the Maple at its nearest point to the Bad was somewhat lower, six feet or more, and a lock was projected along with a dam in the Maple to overcome this difference in levels. Timber for lock and dam was cut in Chapin Township, and as late as 1880, might be seen crumbling into dust on the ground where it had been prepared." *Ibid.*

10. *Recollections of the Saginaw Valley* by E. L. Wentz, In, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, vol. 17, pp. 440-446.

wondering where they could find jobs to help them replenish their depleted funds when a large canoe landed almost in front of them. As Mr. Wentz, tells it:

The first man to step out of it was Charles F. Smith, the chief engineer of the Saginaw and Grand River Canal project. He had come down from the woods at Bad River bringing his whole corps of engineers, and camp equipment to Saginaw to celebrate the 4th of July. I had worked with Smith for some time on the New York and Erie Railroad and knew him intimately. He soon told me that he had work for both of us so we took hold with a will and helped to pitch the tents on the bluff near the northeast corner of the old government stockade.

In 1837 Saginaw was quite isolated. There was no communication with the rest of the world except by the Saginaw River, the bay and lakes, or by the old Indian trail to Flint. I have walked the old trail several times. It was a wet and dreary road all the way through a dense forest with no improvements of any kind. My first journey over the trail was on the 18th of September, 1838, on my way home (to Binghampton, New York) for a visit. When I returned I walked from Flint to Saginaw carrying my trunk on my back.

Again about the 25th of December, 1838, I walked over the trail to Detroit to settle with the auditor of the state.¹¹ Among my duties as assistant engineer of the canal project was that of commissary of subsistence which necessitated my expending some money for the state. In settling my accounts on the first day of January 1839 the auditor disputed an item of six boxes of soap in my bill, insisting that soap was a *luxury* the state could not allow.

I told him that we were *allowed* brandy, whiskey, and stock ale, and that I thought soap just as necessary as liquors, and that occasionally when we forgot what was on our tin dishes last, we washed them; we also washed our own clothing and required soap for those purposes. He finally audited my account. I returned by stage to Flint and then walked over the old trail to Saginaw.

During the fall of 1837 and the winter of '37-'38 the line of the canal was located, and early in 1838 the contract for building the entire work was let to Smock and Little of Saginaw.

One of Mr. Wentz's assignments during that period was "a survey of the Saginaw River from the deep water in the bay to the head of the Saginaw, thence up the Shiawassee and Bad Rivers to the canal, cutting holes in the ice and taking soundings showing the channel and depth of water at all points."

There were no residences along the Saginaw, Shiawassee, or Bad Rivers at that time, excepting at Saginaw City, one or two others along the river —

11. "A company of 50 laborers were for a time employed upon the Saginaw Canal to which point approximately \$5,000 worth of provisions had been forwarded from Detroit by the state for the support of the laborers, to be deducted from the contractors estimates as earned." *"The Life and Times of Stevens T. Mason,"* by Lawton T. Hemans, 1930, p. 414.

one an old dilapidated shanty located I think where Bay City is now. In traveling between Saginaw and our canal work we were compelled to use canoes, there being no roads or trails; and the country was low, flat and wet, with numerous streams and bayous to cross. It was almost impossible to get there except by the rivers.

Meanwhile the political and economic affairs of Michigan were in a state of chaos verging upon disaster. Jealousy and discontent of representatives from sections of the state not to be benefited by the various projects created doubt and suspicion of the wisdom and integrity of the Commissioners. Investigations and replacements on the Board eased the situation temporarily but did not cure the basic malady.

In January 1838 Governor Mason's message was optimistic and the report of the Board of Commissioners approved the estimated cost of the Northern Canal, including improving the channel of Bad River, a total of \$179,659.62, and suggested "a more extensive improvement at an increase of some \$30,000 in cost."¹²

Legislature adjourned April 6th and there followed a period of seeming peace and contentment. The train between Detroit and Ypsilanti appeared to be making money. There was a big to-do over commencement of work on the Clinton-Kalamazoo Canal, and improvements on the lower portions of the Grand and Kalamazoo Rivers were carried forward, though all of the work was seriously hampered by "a form of malarial sickness that was general in the state during the summer of 1838."¹³

At the following Legislative session in January 1839, although the Governor congratulated the Board of Internal Improvements on the work accomplished he urged the Legislature to "examine rigidly the expenditures of the Commissioners." Following a "rigid examination" by an investigating commission 3 members of the Board were charged with "misdoings of a grave and serious nature" and the personnel of the Board was reduced from 7 to 3.¹⁴

12. *Ibid*, p. 402.

13. *Ibid*, p. 414.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 416-418.

With both public and private interests reeling from the after-effects of the Panic of 1837, the financial situation was such that efforts were made to get a resolution passed that would reduce the State loan and limit the projects undertaken to the ones that would be most likely to produce income enough to approximate their cost. Although the Legislature balked at passing a resolution that would so publicly proclaim failure they reduced appropriations for all of the various projects and *eliminated the Saginaw Canal entirely*.

Since the Northern part of the peninsula was thinly populated at that time, it had fewer representatives in government and the "special interests" of the Green Bay Country were centered in development of the new territory of Wisconsin. Hence apparently it was judged that the northern canal was the least likely to pay its own way. Financial support having been withdrawn by the State, it was impossible for the local contractors to carry on. The Panic and wild-cat bank fiascos had depleted private funds and destroyed credit. Three chief engineers had been reduced to one at a salary of \$1,000.00 instead of \$2,000.00, and 6 assistant engineers worked for \$800.00 instead of \$1,500.00, while the crew of laborers had been cut down from 100 to 50.

Judge Miller tells us that

when the crew of Irishmen were dismissed from the canal job the last installment of their wages had not been paid and that for two or three days they paraded the streets of Saginaw with angry looks. Those interested in the contract feared their homes might be mobbed but after the cause for non-payment was explained the men left without doing any damage.¹⁵

The total estimated expense of improving navigation of the Bad and Maple Rivers, and construction of the canal for steamboats was \$238,240. Appropriations for this purpose amounted in 1838 to \$62,000.¹⁶ The amount expended including \$5,000.00 for the Saginaw turnpike was \$47,098.33.¹⁷

The timbers intended for construction of locks and dams remained to rot on the ground or were carried away to be used for other purposes.

15. *Incidents in the Early History of Saginaw Valley* by Judge Albert Miller, In, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, vol. 13, pp. 357-359.

16. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, by J. T. Blois, 1828, p. 83.

17. *Michigan Political Science Association, Publications*, vol. 4, p. 39.

Ten years after the abandonment of the project by the State, the Legislature incorporated Gardner Williams, James Frazier, D. J. Johnson of Saginaw, and others with authority to proceed with the project as a privately financed undertaking, but nothing was ever done about it. Perhaps the discovery of gold in California about that time was more alluring to investors than an abandoned ditch in northern Michigan.

So now in 1951 more than a hundred years later, the Northern Canal remains a grass-grown hollow and a stretch of swampy water on either side of a country road. The dreams and "big ideas" of the men who planned it are forgotten. It is spoken of by local historians as a "monument to folly," but if you start asking questions about it at the office of the Road Commissioner in the Saginaw County Court House, "the boys" will laugh and tell you: "They say those New York Irishmen buried a barrel of *whiskey* down there somewhere intending to celebrate when they finished the job. If you ever run across it, let us know."



Vacation Voyages on Inland Seas

By PAUL T. HURT, JR.

PART II



ABOUT THIS TIME the advertising of Canada Steamship Lines had caught my fancy, and, too, I had never been on Lake Superior above the Soo, so the 1935 season saw reservations made for the seven day cruise aboard the luxurious *Noronic*, flagship of the C. S. L.'s Northern Navigation Division. I had never seen the *Noronic* and the first sight of this huge steamer, the largest propeller-type passenger vessel on the Great Lakes, was most impressive. The interior appointments of the *Noronic* were really magnificent. Beautiful mahogany finished partitions, the tremendous Lounge-Ballroom with its inlaid floor of oak and huge picture windows, and the upper-deck dining salon that encompassed the full width of the ship, affording passengers an unobstructed view of the passing panorama while they dined — in these respects the *Noronic* surpassed by far the other passenger ships that sailed the inland seas.

Life aboard the *Noronic* proved to be quite different, also, than that on the American ships. Such things as afternoon tea served at 4 o'clock, the Mile March behind a Scotch bag-piper, and evening refreshments at 10:30 in the Lounge-Ballroom created the atmosphere of graciousness that has always characterized the Canadian ships. The itinerary, too, was quite different, particularly when the *Noronic* was in port. Since this pride of Canada Steamship Lines also carried package freight between Sarnia and Port Arthur, port stays were of necessity several hours in duration. But at Sarnia a beach picnic was arranged at Canatara Beach, with the ship's crew serving a delicious picnic lunch in the park. Up at Port Arthur a motor trip to Kakabeka Falls was available for the passengers.

Two more passenger vessels, new to me, were sighted on this voyage. At Sault Ste. Marie the palatial Canadian-Pacific steamships *Assiniboia* and *Keewatin* were docked at the C. P. R. pier. It was quite a thrill to see these trim, twin, triple-masted vessels that had sailed across the Atlantic for service on the Great Lakes in 1907. For years these staunch steamers had plied their course between Port McNicoll in Georgian Bay and Fort William at the top of Lake Superior, yet in the travel agencies of Indianapolis they were, and still are, for that matter, practically unknown. The *Assiniboia* locked through the Soo behind the *Noronic* and followed us all the way across the broad expanse of water to Port Arthur.

On the return cruise down the lakes the *Noronic* arrived at Sarnia very early in the morning, and just after she had tied up at the Point Edward dock, a familiar ship's whistle awoke me from a sound sleep. I leaped out of my berth just in time to see the *South American* swish by, headed down the St. Clair river toward Detroit, with one startling change in her appearance. She was still as gleaming white as ever, but a bright blue line striped her from stem to stern, in place of the old buff line that she had always carried at the height of her cabin deck. It was also at Sarnia that a striking sideview snapshot of the *Octorara* was taken, a picture which enlarged well and is now in the irreplaceable class. During this season the *Octorara* and *Juniata* were back on the Buffalo to Duluth route, the older *Tionesta* having been withdrawn from service.

In 1936 the Georgian Bay Line beckoned again, and this year saw the beginning of several consecutive seasons of cruising aboard the sister ships *North American* and *South American*. In fact, so many Week's cruises, Labor Day cruises and Pre-Season cruises were taken over a five year period that I was almost considered a member of the crew. Even today, friendships formed among crew and other repeating passengers aboard these ships are most happy and highly regarded. Who can sail on these "Sister Queens of the Lakes" and not have known Frank Ammatuna, the kindly Lookout, presently aboard the *North American*, who has been with the company since 1919? Frank's memory seems infallible. He never forgets a face, and scarcely a name, and the lore of the lakes that one can gather from Frank's many experiences over the years is astounding.

Though the cruise itinerary of the Georgian Bay Line usually remained about the same, except for an occasional variance of the Georgian Bay port of call from Parry Sound to Midland, and in 1939 to Midland and Owen Sound for the one season, yet the seven day trip from Chicago to Buffalo and return never failed to satisfy the yearly yearning that I always felt about the middle of May when I knew the ships were going out again. Other vessels sailing the lakes in those days were always carefully noted, and photographed upon occasion when they would meet my Georgian Bay liner, for by that time I was beginning to realize that little by little, passenger traffic was declining, and one by one, the passenger vessels were disappearing from the Great Lakes scene. The steamer *Seeandbee* was a frequent sight in that period, having entered the week's cruise business, and many times I had the opportunity of exploring this grand old side-wheeler when we'd meet her at Mackinac Island. I did travel on this fine steamer once, at the age of four, when she was on her intended Cleveland to Buffalo run, but that trip is now almost beyond the realm of recollection.

For a few seasons there was another steamer that plied the cruise route from Detroit and Windsor to Georgian Bay ports and Manitoulin Island, the S. S. *Georgian* of Seaway Lines. While on the *South American's* Labor Day cruise in 1936 I spent a delightful morning in Windsor inspecting the *Georgian*, a much smaller vessel, and very Canadian. Where she came from, I never knew. Her accommodations seemed ample, most of her public rooms were topside, and in size she was well suited for the Georgian Bay and North Channel route that she cruised.

It was also on this same Labor Day cruise that we became "lost in a fog" at the Soo. The *South American* out of Detroit had arrived at the Soo in the early evening, meeting the *North American* out of Chicago, and both ships were scheduled to sail around 9:30 P. M. But, by 9 o'clock a heavy fog had enveloped the Soo and the entire St. Mary's river, so no departure was attempted. Most of the night we sat there, waiting for the fog to lift, with Captain Bright of the *North American* and Captain Anderson of the *South American* pacing the dock in frustration. The fog wrapped the two ships in a blanket of such intensity that standing amidship on deck, one could see neither the bow nor the stern. About

midnight the soup lifted slightly, and the *North American* swung out into the channel. Then it clamped down again, leaving the *South American* still at the dock. About 2 A. M. I gave up and climbed into my berth for a good night's sleep. When I awoke at 9 A. M. the next morning I looked out of the porthole and saw nothing except mist and water. Assuming that we were underway, though going slowly because of the fog, I went out on deck and took a turn around. There on the port side was still the same dock at the Soo! We hadn't moved an inch. Though one could see nothing through the fog, the endless blasts of ships' whistles constantly warned that ships were all around. Finally, about noon the sun broke through, and there in the St. Mary's river at Sault Ste. Marie was the largest conglomeration of freighters, tugs and other craft that I had ever seen. The *South American* sailed at 1 P. M., sixteen hours behind schedule, to say the least, and that Labor Day cruise got back to Detroit on Tuesday at 11:00 A. M. instead of Monday at 10:00 P. M. Those of us who had embarked at Cleveland were put ashore in Detroit and sent on our way by train.

Another delightful voyage was made aboard the S. S. *Noronic* early in 1937, this time a Pre-season cruise from Detroit to Sarnia, Midland, Mackinac Island and Sault Ste. Marie. On this special cruise the *Noronic* was carrying a group of graduating high school seniors, with the result that there was much gaiety and night life aboard the staid Canadian vessel. With the *Noronic* sailing off her usual beaten path it was a most interesting cruise.

1937 was also my graduating year at college, so what could have been more appropriate than a week's cruise aboard the *South American* as a graduation present. It was on this cruise that I got my first glimpse of the C. P. R. Steamer *Manitoba*, oldest passenger ship in service on the Great Lakes, and one with the very nostalgic air of days-gone-by about her. At the turn of the century the *Manitoba* was among the finest of the Great Lakes vessels. In her many years of service she sailed the inland seas staunchly and steadily, faithfully plying between Port McNicoll, Owen Sound and Fort William, until 1950 saw this gallant ship ending a career of over half a century on the Great Lakes. It was also in 1937 that the *Alabama* had been taken over by the Kirby interests, and was running on a cruise from Cleveland to Isle Royale.

The following season while on a *North American* Pre-season cruise to Sturgeon Bay, a visit was made to the shipyards in that Wisconsin port, and there, scrapped, or being scrapped, were the remains of many a fine ship that had seen gala days on the lakes. Besides the old *Manitou* previously described, there was the *City of Benton Harbor*, fast side-wheel steamer of the Goodrich fleet, the old *City of Saugatuck* and the black hull of the Goodrich steamship *Carolina*. Three of us aboard the *North American* spent the hour and a half ashore at Sturgeon Bay wandering among these proud old liners, taking many a last picture and reminiscing of days and ships that were no more. A touch of Hollywood also visited the *North American* on this cruise, for aboard with us was that famous star of the silent screen, the "Messala" of "Ben Hur," Francis X. Bushman.

The Labor Day cruise of the *South American* in 1938 provided a visit to Harbor Springs, the first in eight years, and many interesting pictures were taken of this Great White Liner at the calling place of the old *Manitou*, *Puritan* and *Missouri*. The *Missouri* was still running in 1938 and 1939 between Chicago and Muskegon, managed by the Wisconsin & Michigan Steamship Company, which also had the former Goodrich steamer *Illinois* in operation from Milwaukee to Muskegon. 1939 saw the *North American* return to Sturgeon Bay on a Pre-season cruise which also included a call at Milwaukee and Manitowoc. I always enjoyed these special trips because they gave me a chance to visit many a lake port that was not ordinarily on the regular season's itinerary.

By this time, being a regular voyager on the Great Lakes, it occurred to me that in my own small way I ought to do something to preserve the identity of the vessels of the inland seas that were slowly coming to the end of their time, besides taking pictures. Therefore, I embarked upon the ambitious program of building scale models of the passenger ships that I knew so well. Construction was begun on the *North American*, and since that vessel is 300 feet long overall, a model of 12 inches length was started which established the scale. Snapshots, company folders saved over the years, deck plans and statistical measurements of all the ships furnished me with the information required. Using easily shaped balsa wood the hull was formed, but a deviation from the usual method of building ship models was employed. My models were

constructed only from the water line up, so that when they might be displayed on a shelf or table they would give the appearance of riding in the water, which is how any ship is usually seen. After the hull was finished the superstructure was built up, and railings installed using pins and thread. It was a meticulous job, and tedious at times, to say the least, but when the *North American* was finally completed, she sailed across our mantel in all her glory. Often in the evenings when the lights are turned down low, it takes but little imagination to make believe that she is the real *North American* sailing on and on across the blue waters of the inland seas.

With the model of the *North American* completed it seemed only fitting that her sister ship should join her, so immediately the *South American* was begun, and by the time I sailed upon my 1939 cruise aboard the S. S. *South American*, the little scale models went with me. They created much interest aboard the ship, particularly among the crew, and Captain William T. Bright, then Master of the *South American*, took much delight in exhibiting them to the passengers. Upon our arrival in Chicago the models were placed in the Georgian Bay Line office display window for the balance of the season.

Since that time I have added many more models to my miniature lake fleet, — the *Tionesta* of Great Lakes Transit Corporation, the *Manitou* and *Puritan* of the Michigan Transit Corporation, the *Alabama* as she looked when sailing under the ownership of the Chicago, Duluth & Georgian Bay Transit Company, the *Noronic* and *Hamonic* of Canada Steamship Lines, the *Eastern States* of the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, and most recently, though not yet completed, the Canadian Pacific *Assiniboia*. Future plans for this model lake fleet seem unending, for there are many, many fine ships that might be built. And with the building, my methods do improve so that each one seems a little more faithfully reproduced than the one before. My *North American* and *South American* made back in 1939 now look somewhat obsolete when compared to the appearance of the *Assiniboia* presently under construction, and therefore, will probably undergo a "face-lifting" at a later date.

The year of 1940 brought about the longest continuous cruise aboard ship that I have ever undertaken. A week's cruise and the Labor Day

cruise aboard the *South American* were combined into one long trip of eleven days' and nights' duration. Because of the war in Europe, and United States and Canadian security measures, the Georgian Bay Line ships did not call at a Canadian port in Georgian Bay that season; Sault Ste. Marie and Harbor Springs were scheduled instead. That, plus the Labor Day ports of Mackinac Island, Harbor Springs and Charlevoix, provided a most interesting itinerary. For nearly two weeks I sailed up and down the lakes, crossing the expanse of Lake Michigan twice, Lake Erie three times and Lake Huron four times. During this season the sister ships met in port at Sault Ste. Marie, and crew rivalry, always intense, was never more in evidence than during the Soo stop. Each ship had a baseball team and from what I heard quite a series was played weekly in the park alongside the dock. On the particular day that I was there the *South American* beat the *North American*, game called at the end of the fifth because of sailing time. Besides the sister ships which were both on the Chicago to Buffalo run, the company was also running the *Alabama* from Buffalo to Isle Royale and Duluth for the second consecutive season, having taken her over from the Kirby Line in 1939. The Steamer *Seeandbee* was still in the week's cruise business and was met twice at Mackinac Island. In the St. Mary's River we passed the old *Caribou* still sailing her route between the Soo and Georgian Bay ports.

(To be continued)

Cliffs Victory, a Pioneer of 1951

By JULIAN GRIFFIN

A PARADE OF OCEAN-TYPE MERCHANT VESSELS, completely rebuilt to meet the peculiar requirements of the Great Lakes ore fleet, is heading up the Mississippi River. Some of these vessels will be in service on the lakes before the end of this season, bringing iron ore from the upper lakes down to the war-hungry blast furnaces of the lower lakes. The venture, still in the experimental stage six months ago, is practical. All the uncertainties have been eliminated, all the unknown quantities successfully explored by the appropriately-named *Cliffs Victory*, which pioneered in the costly conversion experiment.

The converted *Victory*, latest addition to the Cleveland-Cliffs fleet, already has proved that she is well adapted to the ore trade. Fastest ship on the lakes, she makes the round trip to the head of the lakes in four and one half to five days, bringing an average cargo of better than 13,300 tons of ore. This great speed enables the *Victory* to haul more ore in a given period than slower vessels built to carry larger loads.

The larger ore ships built prior to World War II, commonly called the 600-footers, bring down 14,000 to 14,500 tons of ore per trip with the high water prevailing this season, and require seven days for the trip. The so-called "superdupers," built by the Pittsburgh Steamship Company during the last war, bring down 16,000 tons every six days.

Captain C. R. Gallagher, skipper of the *Cliffs Victory*, reports that the new ship maneuvers well in port, loads and unloads as quickly and efficiently as other vessels.

"To say we are pleased with general results to date is putting it mildly," said Harrold L. Gobeille, manager of the marine department of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, after the vessel had been in the ore trade a couple of months. Marine observers considered it a big gamble last

December when Cleveland-Cliffs purchased the then *Notre Dame Victory* from the U. S. Maritime Administration. The 455-foot vessel was idling in the moth-ball fleet in the James River near Newport, Virginia.

It was a long, tortuous route from Newport to Cleveland. To begin with, the vessel was too short for maximum efficiency in the ore trade. So the first step was to take her to Bethlehem Steel's shipyard at Baltimore where she was "stretched" 165 feet.

It was still December when the *Notre Dame Victory* was taken to Bethlehem's Key Highway yards to be lined up on keel and bilge blocks in a graving dock. Workmen with acetylene torches burned through the steel plate of the hull all the way around, cutting the vessel in half. The water-tight after-section was floated free and towed off by tugs. At Bethlehem's Sparrows Point yard a midship's section of 165 feet was built and floated to the Key Highway yard and carefully lined up first to the forward part, then to the afterpart, resulting in a 620-foot vessel.

Meanwhile, the pilot house, bow and midship cabins were being constructed on nearby docks. Accommodations include luxurious quarters for six passengers, in addition to observation room and quarters for licensed officers and forward hands in the front cabins. The midship cabin houses the engine, quarters for mechanical officers and men, galley and mess hall.

The job on the Atlantic Seaboard progressed smoothly in time for the christening ceremonies at Baltimore on March 21, 1951. Sponsor was Mrs. Luise Gobeille, wife of the vessel manager, who swung the champagne bottle and christened her *Cliffs Victory*, after which the drydock was filled and the ship floated into the bay with draft of less than eight feet.

Upper sections of the deckhouses were taken down and stored in the holds to provide clearance under bridges along the trip to the lakes; pontoons were welded to the sides to negotiate shallow draft of the rivers, and on April 2, 1951 the *Victory* was tied to a deep sea Diesel tug and started her history-making trip to the Great Lakes. At New Orleans she paused about 30 hours to take on fresh water and supplies before a river towing outfit took over. The trip up the Mississippi River, Illinois River and Chicago Drainage Canal attracted nationwide interest.

She had reached New Orleans without much excitement, except for a raging gale off the Florida Keys, which she weathered in fine fashion. Leaving New Orleans April 19 with three barges, end-to-end, lashed alongside, a river towboat pushed the procession up the river.

North of St. Louis the ship skittered through the "chain of rocks" and ran into more serious problems involving locks that were not as long as the ship. In the Illinois River it became a series of squeeze plays, slipping under fixed bridges or moving diagonally through lift bridges. Thousands of persons lined the waterway at Joliet, Illinois, and church bells rang as she passed under six bridges, missing one by only five inches. Between Lockport and Lake Michigan, she encountered 59 bridges.

Moving up the Chicago River, she angled through double bends in the river, whose bank was crowded with thousands of spectators. At Van Buren Street, she slowed down to a crawl, to be "shoehorned" around the two bends in this bridge.

The vessel was within 10 feet of completing the 3000-mile trip to Lake Michigan when the biggest crisis of all was faced, one that almost wrecked the entire venture. Lake Michigan was 18 inches higher than the Chicago Drainage Canal, and the 620-foot vessel was called upon to fit into the last lock, which was only 600 feet long. Normal procedure would be to flood the lock with a foot and a half of water and float the craft into the lake. But the stern of the *Victory* was sticking out 20 feet. As the ship moved into the last lock, they very cautiously opened the front gate a crack, using the ship's own winches and some pushing tugs for additional power. But a foot and a half of Lake Michigan came boiling in, with tons and tons of water. This tremendous force shoved the *Victory's* bow back and snapped two of the tow lines. Disaster loomed only 10 feet from the goal. More lines were run out, the winches whined, the Diesel tugs gave out with all their power and the ship inched forward enough so that the rear gates could be closed and the *Victory* glided serenely out into Lake Michigan.

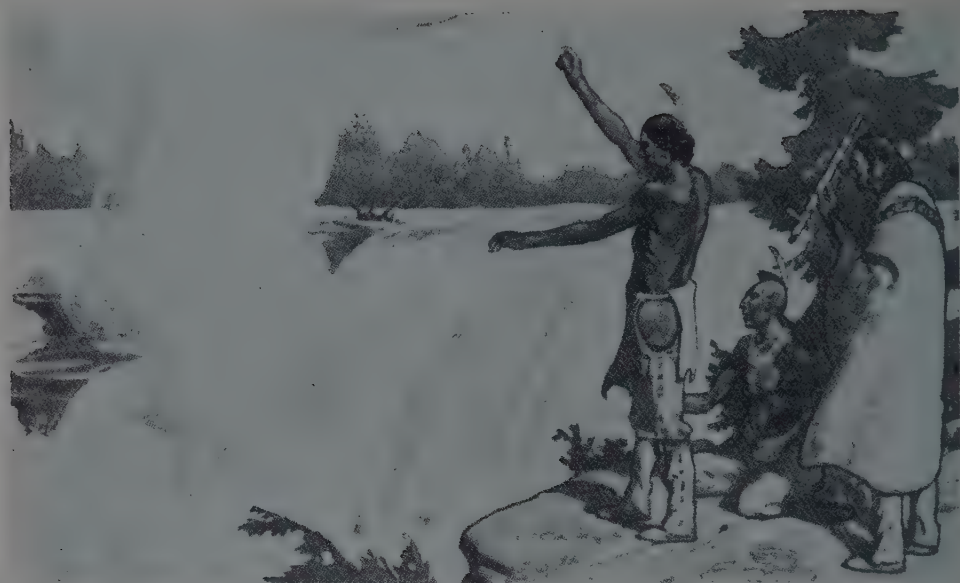
At Chicago, The American Ship Building Company took over for the final fitting and the *Victory* went to work at her new trade early in June.



THE *Cliffs Victory*, at Justice, Illinois, eighteen miles from the Chicago Lock. Photograph by courtesy of the Great Lakes Towing Company. (See page 176.)



THE *Cliffs Victory* in the Chicago Lock. Photograph by courtesy of the Great Lakes Towing Company. (See page 176.)



INDIANS PAYING HOMAGE to the spirit of the Chaudiere, a mural by C. W. Jeffreys, R. C. A., in the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. (See page 151.)



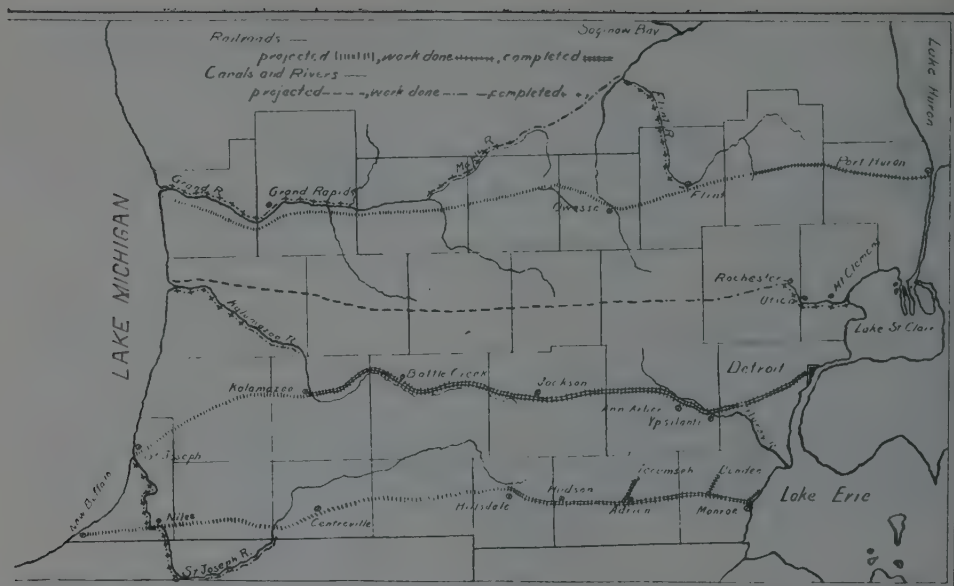
AN 1831 SKETCH of the "Great Kettle" at Chaudiere Falls. From *Ottawa, Past and Present*, by A. H. D. Ross. (See page 151.)



THE *Owego*, operated by the Union Steamboat Company, established by the predecessor of the Erie Railroad. Photograph by courtesy of Edward J. Dowling, S.J. (See page 204.)



THE *Nyack*, built in 1878 for the Erie Railway Line, was later sold to the Crosby Transportation Company. Photograph by courtesy of Kenneth E. Smith. (See page 204.)



AN 1836-46 MAP, showing proposed internal improvements for Michigan. From *Michigan Political Science Association Publications*, vol. 4, p. 1. (See page 161.)



SECTIONAL MAP, 1932, showing the Saginaw and Grand Rivers and the comparative distance between the Bad and Maple Rivers. From the *American Geologist*, vol. 14, p. 289. (See page 162.)



LOOKING BACK from a bridge over Potato Creek toward the probable beginning of the canal. (See page 166.)



A VIEW OF THE COMPLETED SECTION of the old canal looking north from a local road near the Brant-St. Charles highway. (See page 162.)



THE *City of Benton Harbor* being scrapped at Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, 1938. Photograph by Paul T. Hurt, Jr. (See page 171.)



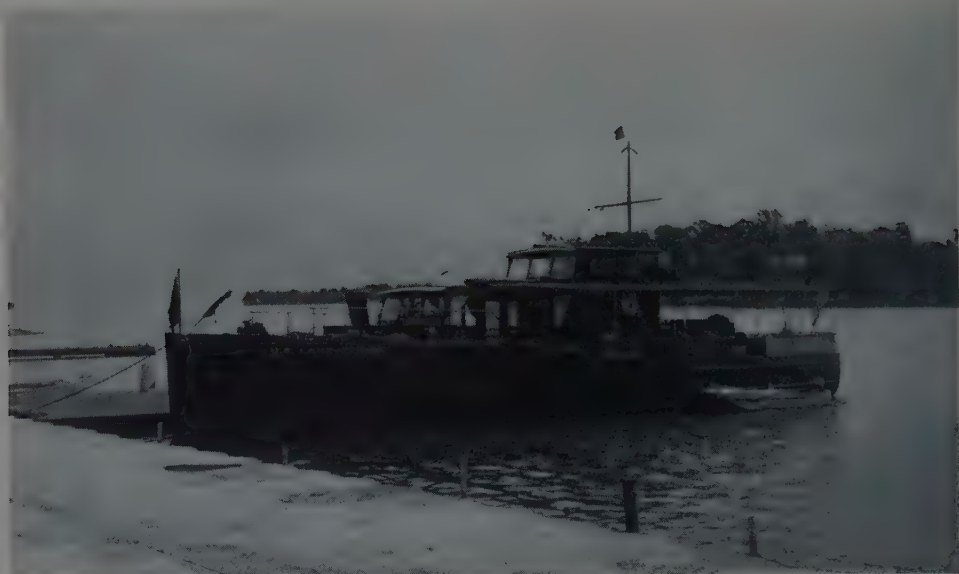
THE *North American* at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan in 1940. Photograph by Paul T. Hurt, Jr. (See page 168.)



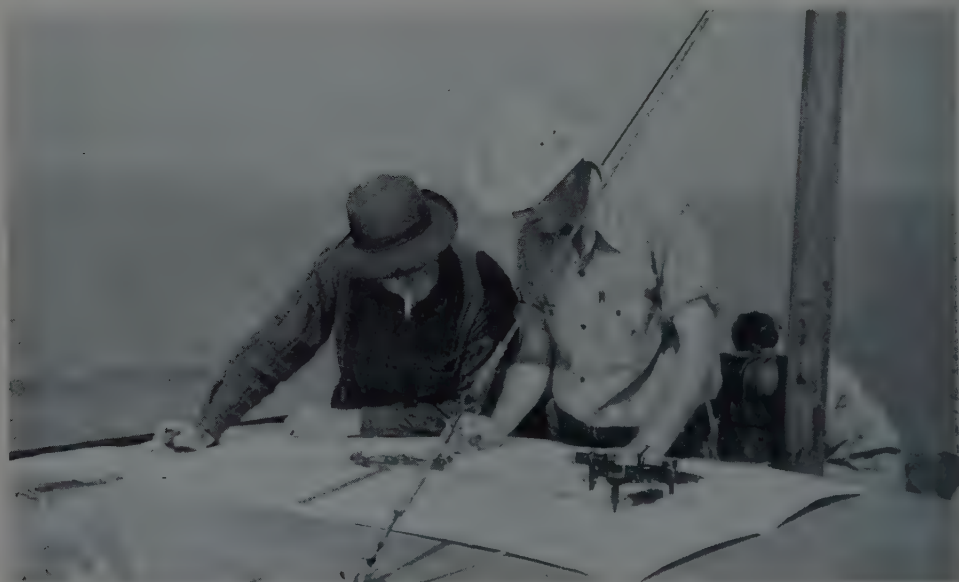
THE *Georgian*, of Seaway Lines, in Georgian Bay, 1937. Photograph by Paul T. Hurt, Jr. (See page 169.)



THE *Octorara* in the St. Clair River, 1935. Photograph by Paul T. Hurt, Jr. (See page 168.)



LAKE SURVEY BOAT *F. G. Ray* at Put-In-Bay. Photograph by T. H. Langlois. (See page 203.)



PLOTTING THE LAKE SURVEY aboard the *F. G. Ray*. Photograph by T. H. Langlois. (See page 203.)

The Great Lakes, 1850-1861

By ANDREW T. BROWN

PART V

DEMOCRATS IN THE LAKE STATES became more restive as time went on. The Cleveland *Leader* observed that there were 100 vessels stuck in the St. Clair flats in the winter of 1854 (the figure seems high), and suggested this as a good reason to turn out the Democrats. Two years later, its reporter noticed the names of Fremont and Dayton flying from the masts of ships in Cleveland's harbor, never that of Buchanan. "The men whose route lies over the St. Clair flats are for a change of administration."¹¹ Pierce's veto of a bill to improve the St. Clair flats stirred even the pro-Pierce Detroit *Free-Press* to warn that "The President must abandon such ground, or . . . the Democracy of the Northwest will abandon him. To attempt to sustain him would be to invite annihilation."¹²

This veto had brought lake shippers together in a convention held at Buffalo, in 1855. In order to keep the flats open, they called for contributions from those interested. Chicago and Milwaukee contributed about ten thousand dollars between them, and Buffalo raised eight thousand. Detroit promised to help, but Cleveland for some reason remained aloof.¹³ The speed with which the private interests did their own improving lends weight to Pierce's earlier statement to Congress against federal aid: ". . . The springs of industry rest securely upon the general reserved powers of the people of the several States."¹⁴ There was apparently no overwhelming necessity for government aid; it came, finally,

11. Cleveland *Leader*, Dec. 4, 1854; Oct. 14, 1856.

12. Clipped in Buffalo *Evening Post*, March 22, 1855.

13. *Ibid.*, March 28, and April 19, 1855.

14. Richardson, *Messages*, vol. vi, p. 2746.

as a convenience, strongly desired by Northwestern interests. The strongest argument they had was the losses on the lakes. One lobbyist estimated losses in 1851 at one vessel per every 5,142 tons employed in the trade; this compared with a loss on the ocean and Gulf of Mexico of one vessel per every 10,844 tons.¹⁵

The St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal was perhaps the most important single work of internal improvement which the government ever helped. Until 1850, all business between Lake Superior and Lakes Michigan and Huron had to cross a portage about a mile long pulled by horse and cart. That year a strap line was built. Before the opening of the Canal, any worth-while ships in Lake Superior had been hauled across this isthmus, a long and costly process. The State of Michigan had tried to build a canal itself, at the suggestion of its first governor, Stephen Mason. Unfortunately, the route ran across a federal military reservation, and work was stopped actually at bayonet point. Resolutions of protest to Congress followed, and attempts were made to get a bill authorizing federal aid for the project. On one of these occasions, in 1843, the stoutest defender of internal improvements, Henry Clay, remarked that he would as leave sanction a canal in the moon as one in Northern Michigan, so remote was it from civilization. During the debates in Congress, including that which led to the bill's passage, the mineral importance of Northern Michigan was not one of the major considerations advocated in its favor. Military preparedness and the value of the surrounding public lands, which would presumably be enhanced, were two of the most frequently urged arguments.¹⁶

In the winter of 1851, a group of businessmen organized an active lobby which memorialized Congress in favor of the project. The leader of the group was a man named Charles T. Harvey. During the final debate in Congress, Senator Underwood of Kentucky answered Cass's "national defense" argument with the statement that, "Sir, there were blessings asked in the name of Esau when it was known that they were

15. *Report of Israel D. Andrews* . . . Senate Document 112, 32nd Cong., 1st session, p. 54.

16. *Congressional Globe*, (1 sess., 31 Cong.) xxi, pt. 2, 1719-1724; (1 sess., 32 Cong.) xxiv, pt. 2, 1880, 1882.

for the benefit of Jacob.”¹⁷ The bill passed and was signed on August 30, 1852. Congress gave the State of Michigan 750,000 acres of the public lands, the proceeds of which would be applied to construction of the canal. The State gave the job to a construction company headed by — Charles T. Harvey!

He put his company to work energetically. In order to get enough workers, agents of the company went to New York, where they boarded incoming ships and signed up immigrants whose feet had not touched dry land. During the time of construction a strike occurred. Harvey broke it by carrying off the stores and refusing to serve food to the men until they returned to work. In 1854 an epidemic of cholera carried off 1/10 of the workers; Harvey arranged that those stricken should be removed from the scene secretly, so that panic might not spread among the rest. Part of the land through which the canal went was an old Indian burial ground, and had been reserved to them forever, by treaty. The canal went through it none the less.

The canal was opened on schedule, April 19, 1855, after 22½ months of work. The total cost had been practically a million dollars; the estimate had been half that. It began immediately to repay its cost commercially. 1855 saw 193 passages, both directions, through the locks. That year, a total of 106,000 tons of goods were shipped through them. By 1860, the figure was 404,000 tons.¹⁸ Today, the canal registers a tonnage annually greater than that of the Panama and Suez canals combined.

The St. Mary's Canal had been well-built. Its channel was deeper than the river channel itself. This brought the question of internal improvements back into the picture. A Whig administration had sanctioned the canal; now Pierce, a Democratic President, vetoed a bill to deepen the St. Mary's River. It was shortly thereafter passed over his veto (1856.) The Northwest had obviously tasted blood.

Zach Chandler entered the Senate in 1857, to take up where Cass had left off. He tried to get an appropriation for improving the St. Clair

17. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 945.

18. *Illustrated History of the St. Mary's Canal*, Detroit, 1892, p. 20.

Flats, but failed. Demanding the yeas and nays on his bill, Chandler said:

I want to know who are friendly to the great Northwest and who are not, for we are about making our last prayer here . . . After 1860, we shall not be here as beggars.¹⁹

EPILOGUE — "THE GRAND MARCH"

It takes the language of a lobbyist or a travel agent to describe the phenomenal growth of the lake region during the forties and fifties. Only California's gold rush is comparable. During most of the period, Buffalo was the busiest port on the lakes. We have seen that there were in 1850, 8,444 arrivals and clearances there; in 1861, nearly fourteen thousand were registered. Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine* analyzed the reasons for this expansion. There were three possible avenues for Western produce: the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and the Hudson. New Orleans was too hot to store the cereal products of the plains; also, the tributaries of the Mississippi rose and fell too erratically to serve trade well. The other two routes both involved the Great Lakes, and since the St. Lawrence was too icy for a large part of the year, the Lakes-Erie canal-Hudson river route got the greater part of the trade.²⁰

Already in 1861, Chicago was the second largest city in the United States. Its position on Lake Michigan at the entrance to the Illinois River Canal assured that it would be the hub of east-west rail traffic. Chicago's chief competitor was Milwaukee, a young city which as the fifties opened was doubling its population every three and a half years. Its position was that of a "way station on the water highway from Buffalo to the agrarian Northwest."²¹ These two cities fought it out with one another to see which would capture the bulk of the western grain. Both threw out networks of railroads into the hinterland. Milwaukee eventually won (1862) because of its shorter lake connection with Buffalo.

Another rivalry among lake cities was between Sandusky and Cleveland. Sandusky had rail connections with the south and south central

19. W. Stocking, "New England Men in Michigan History," *Michigan History Magazine*, vol. v, 1921, p. 127.

20. Thomas C. Clarke, "Avenues of Western Trade," Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, vol. xxxv, Aug. 1856, pp. 146-160.

21. Bayard Stiel, *Milwaukee*, Madison, 1948, p. 131.

states before Cleveland did. Farmers sent their livestock to Sandusky for shipment. In this item, the city exceeded Toledo and Cleveland combined. Indeed, during the first eight years of the decade, Cleveland's tonnage increased 102%, while that of Sandusky increased 130%. Sandusky's importance depended, however, on north-south trade, and as east-west trade overshadowed it — as Chicago grew — Sandusky was relegated to the place of a minor city.

The Northwest was the fastest growing region in the country in 1850 and held that position through the decade. Michigan and Wisconsin, which had led the other states in their percentage increases, 1840-1850, continued to grow at an unbelievable rate; each state almost exactly doubled its population during the fifties. Taking the Ohio Valley generally, we may notice that its cities added during this decade an average of 70% to their populations. The Great Lakes ports in the period added 133% to theirs.

The Toledo business writer, J. W. Scott, studied the movement of the center of population. It was moving westward at a rate of fifteen miles a year. The center of industrial power always approached it, though remaining behind due to Southern slavery. Both would eventually reach Lake Michigan, Scott predicted. This prediction has not yet come true. In fifty years, he went on, Chicago will be a bigger city than New York:

If it were asked, whose anticipations . . . have come nearest the truth—those of the sanguine and hopeful, or those of the cautious and fearful—must it not be answered that . . . the most sanguine and hopeful only . . . can attain a due estimation of the measure of future change and improvement, in the grand march of society and civilization westward over our continent? ²²

The travel agent, James Disturnell, saw it in terms of power. Without stopping to consider the human cost exacted by a continent's exploitation, and few people did stop, he rhapsodized, "When all of these elements of wealth . . . shall have been fully developed, there will be an exhibition of human power and greatness such as no other people ever attained." ²³

22. Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, vol. xxxvi, Feb. 1857, pp. 198-202.

23. James Disturnell, *Inland Seas*, N. Y. 1863, p. 23.



A Cuban at Niagara

By EDITH WIRT



OF THE MANY POEMS which celebrate the glories of Niagara in any language, including English, the one generally held to be the best was written by a Spanish American. José Maria Heredia wrote his ode to El Niagara in June 1824 at the age of twenty-one. In the original language this poem is one of the very finest in Spanish literature.

Heredia was born "where the palms are tallest in Cuba" as José Martí, Cuba's national hero of a later date, put it, in Santiago. His father was a magistrate with liberal sympathies who acted as chief judge in another part of the far-flung Spanish empire, in Caracas. It was here in the city which produced the great Bolívar that Heredia received much of his education. Later his father was transferred to a post in Mexico where he died in 1820, whereupon young Heredia returned to Cuba to finish his law studies and to practice law in the city of Matanzas.

A precocious child, his poems had been the pride of the household. At the age of seventeen in Mexico he wrote *En el Teocalli de Cholula* (In the Temple-Pyramid of Cholula), a poem which has gone down in literary history as the precursor of the Spanish romantic movement. In it the poet sits in the ancient Aztec temple and meditates on the beauty of the surrounding scene and on Popocatepetl which has seen seethe at its feet peoples, kings and cities now long forgotten. Everything, he further reflects, must perish by universal law; one day Popocatepetl too will fall. In Cuba his poems, many of them patriotic, became well known.

In 1823, arrested on a charge of conspiracy against the Spanish government, he was condemned to banishment for life. Thus began the existence in exile of this Byronic hero whose romantic life stands out among

the many noble lives sacrificed in Cuba's fight for independence. This struggle lasted longer than that of Spain's other colonies, for it was only in 1898 that Cuba's efforts were rewarded.

He took refuge in the United States, spending two years in Boston and New York, and in the course of his stay, visited Niagara. By giving lessons and writing he managed to eke out an existence. The climate of New York did not suit him; he missed the palm trees, sun and ocean breezes of his blessed island. He despaired of ever learning the English language, but the political institutions of this country held his admiration, and in a letter to a friend he wrote: "I do not understand how so great a people has come to use so execrable a jargon."

El Niagara made its first appearance in a small volume of his poems, published in New York in 1825. An English preface to this first edition read: "The poet has paid particular attention to the accents to make these poems useful to Americans learning the Spanish language. Nothing is better calculated to give them a practical knowledge of the true pronunciation of words than the habit of reading poetry. May they receive this little service of an exiled youth as an expression of gratitude for the asylum he has found in this happy country."


An English version of *Niagara* appeared without signature in the *United States Review and Literary Gazette* for January 1827, the editors of which were William Cullen Bryant and Charles Folsom. It is believed that Bryant collaborated in the translation printed on the following pages.

In 1825 Heredia went to Mexico where he was granted Mexican citizenship and held several important government posts, among others, those of member of Congress and judge of the Superior Court. He was also a newspaper editor. It was here that he married. After an absence of many years he was able to get a short, last glimpse of his beloved island, when in 1836 he obtained permission to visit Cuba for two months. He then returned to Mexico where he spent the rest of his days. Broken in health and disappointed by the political trends, he died in 1839 at the age of 36 "in the valley where, painted gold by the sun, the peaks of Popocatepetl and Itztlazihuatl keep perpetual guard."



Niagara

(From the Spanish of José María Heredia)



My lyre! give me my lyre! My bosom feels
The glow of inspiration. O how long
Have I been left in darkness since this light
Last visited my brow, Niagara!
Thou with thy rushing waters dost restore
The heavenly gift that sorrow took away.

Tremendous torrent! for an instant hush
The terrors of thy voice and cast aside
Those wide involving shadows, that my eyes
May see the fearful beauty of thy face!
I am not all unworthy of thy sight,
For from my very boyhood have I loved,
Shunning the meaner track of common minds,
To look on nature in her loftier moods.

At the fierce rushing of the hurricane,
At the near bursting of the thunderbolt
I have been touched with joy; and when the sea,
Lashed by the wind, hath rocked my bark and showed
Its yawning caves beneath me, I have loved
Its dangers and the wrath of elements.
But never yet the madness of the sea
Hath moved me as thy grandeur moves me now.

Thou flowest on in quiet, till thy waves
Grow broken 'midst the rocks; thy current then
Shoots onward like the irresistible course
Of destiny. Ah, terribly they rage—
The hoarse and rapid whirlpools there!
My brain grows wild, my senses wander, as I gaze
Upon the hurrying waters, and my sight
Vainly would follow, as toward the verge
Sweeps the wide torrent—waves innumerable
Meet there and madden—waves innumerable
Urge on and overtake the waves before,
And disappear in thunder and in foam.

They reach — they leap the barrier — the abyss
Swallows insatiable the sinking waves.
A thousand rainbows arch them, and woods
Are deafened with the roar. The violent shock
Shatters to vapor the descending sheets —
A cloudy whirlwind fills the gulf, and heaves
The mighty pyramid of circling mist
To heaven. The solitary hunter near
Pauses with terror in the forest shades.

What seeks my restless eye? Why are not here,
About the jaws of this abyss, the palms —
Ah — the delicious palms, that on the plains
Of my own native Cuba, spring and spread
Their thickly foliated summits to the sun,
And, in the breathings of the ocean air,
Wave soft beneath the heaven's unspotted blue?

But no, Niagara, — thy forest pines
Are fitter coronal for thee. The palm,
The effeminate myrtle, and frail rose may grow
In gardens, and give out their fragrance there,
Unmanning him who breathes it. Thine it is
To do a nobler office. Generous minds
Behold thee, and are moved, and learn to rise
Above earth's frivolous pleasures; they partake
Thy grandeur, at the utterance of thy name.

God of all truth! in other lands I've seen
Lying philosophers, blaspheming men,
Questioners of thy mysteries, that draw
Their fellows deep into impiety,
And therefore doth my spirit seek thy face
In earth's majestic solitudes. Even here
My heart doth open all itself to thee.
In this immensity of loneliness
I feel thy hand upon me. To my ear
The eternal thunder of the cataract brings
Thy voice, and I am humbled as I hear.

Dread torrent! that with wonder and with fear
Dost overwhelm the soul of him that looks
Upon thee, and dost bear it from itself,
Whence hast thou thy beginning? Who supplies,
Age after age, thy unexhausted springs?
What power hath ordered, that, when all thy weight
Descends into the deep, the swollen waves
Rise not, and roll to overwhelm the earth?

The Lord hath opened his omnipotent hand,
Covered thy face with clouds, and given his voice
To thy down-rushing waters; he hath girt
Thy terrible forehead with his radiant bow.
I see thy never-resting waters run,
And I bethink me how the tide of time
Sweeps to eternity. So pass of man —
Pass, like a noon-day dream — the blossoming days,
And he awakes to sorrow. I, alas!
Feel that my youth is withered, and my brow
Ploughed early with the lines of grief and care.

Never have I so deeply felt as now
The hopeless solitude, the abandonment,
The anguish of a loveless life. Alas!
How can the impassioned, the unfrozen heart
Be happy without love? I would that one
Beautiful, — worthy to be loved and joined
In love with me, — now shared my lonely walk
On this tremendous brink. 'T were sweet to see
Her dear face touched with paleness, and become
More beautiful from fear, and overspread
With a faint smile while clinging to my side!
Dreams — dreams. I am an exile, and for me
There is no country and there is no love.

Hear, dread Niagara, my latest voice!
Yet a few years and the cold earth shall close
Over the bones of him who sings thee now
Thus feelingly. Would that this, my humble verse,
Might be like thee, immortal. I, mean-while,
Cheerfully passing to the appointed rest,
Might raise my radiant forehead in the clouds
To listen to the echoes of my fame.



The Great Lakes in Niles' National Register

CONTINUING publication of excerpts about the Great Lakes
taken from America's leading news magazine during the years
1811 to 1849.

—The Editor.

MANY STEAM BOATS are preparing to ply along the eastern coast of the United States . . . and we shall soon have them on the great lakes.

Two will run between Buffalo and Detroit the ensuing spring.

Niles' Register, August 31, 1816, vol. 11, p. 15.

The Lakes. — London, July 8. — Several arrangements are in the course of progress, with a view to establish a respectable naval force upon the lakes of Canada. Sir Robert Hall, an officer of distinguished merit, who was lately commissioner of the naval yard of Quebec, is appointed to the command of the vessels upon the lakes. Their present force consists of *Tecumseh* schr. Lieut. H. Kent; *Tagus* schr. Lieut. Hambly; *Star*, Capt. Herbert, acting; *Newash* schr. Capt. W. Bouchier, acting; *Netley*, 10, Lieut. H. F. Spencer; *Montreal*, Capt. Edward Collier; *Kingston*, 24, Capt. W. F. W. Owen, and *Huron* schr. Lieut. J. Jackson. The *St. Lawrence*, 98; *Burlington*, 74; *Charwell*, 24, and *Chubb* cutter, are at present in ordinary. Several officers, and a number of seamen, will proceed shortly to that station.

[What can be the meaning — what the object of these exertions to place the British ships on the lakes on a "respectable" establishment? It becomes those in authority to look to it, and see, at least, that our ships are kept in a tolerable state for actual service, if required. The state of things adjacent to these lakes has, however, considerably changed since the war, and would give quite a different aspect to another rencontre between the nations, if this it is that Great Britain has an eye to — their shores, then mere forests, now teem with little villages, and are most rapidly filling with inhabitants.]

Niles' Register, September 7, 1816, vol. 11, p. 30.

The Lakes. — The British ship *Montreal* of 60 guns anchored off the mouth of the Genessee river some 15 or 20 days ago. The views of the British in equipping their vessels on the lakes, will soon develop themselves. Is the right of search to be exercised on Ontario as well as on Erie? We shall see.

Niles' Register, September 14, 1816, vol. 11, p. 47.

The Lakes. — A London paper of July 20 observes — The Americans lose no time in adding to their navy, and accumulating hands. About the middle of June, the schooner *Erie*, of about eighty tons, was launched at Black Rock.

[This schooner *Erie* is a merchant vessel. The British must build many ships on the lake before we shall find it necessary to increase our force there. The editor who made this paragraph, no doubt, was ignorant of Perry's victory on lake Erie, by which we possessed all the vessels on it. The British are exceedingly jealous about these lakes, and seem bent upon something we do not understand.]

Niles' Register, September 21, 1816, vol. 11, p. 58.

August 1. A considerable sensation was produced in the city [London] this morning by the following unexpected notice from the transport board:

Transport Office, 31st July, 1816.

"Wanted conveyance of the undermentioned stores, viz. — 5,200 tons of ordinance stores, to Canada. Tenders to be received on Saturday the 3d of August."

This notice was immediately considered as a hostile symptom. We believe we can remove any apprehensions of this kind. Several fortifications were begun on the lakes immediately after peace was made. Some vessels also were laid down — both require guns and stores. It is known also that the barracks at Quebec were burnt, and a considerable quantity of stores destroyed. These must be replaced, and government are sending them out at a proper time of the year.

Niles' Register, September 21, 1816, vol. 11, p. 60.

Marine Intelligence of Other Days

THE *Nashua*'s STORY

Port Huron, October 4 (Special) — The steambarge *Nashua* is believed to have foundered off Goderich this morning. The barge *Ryan*, which was in tow of the *Nashua* let go the tow line. A northwest gale was blowing and a heavy sea was running. The *Nashua* was then rolling in the trough of the sea with disabled machinery, and had already lost her deckload of lumber. The *Ryan* stood by, and at daylight the *Nashua* was again sighted flying a signal of distress. The steambarge *Gratwick* was signalled from the *Ryan* and was sent to where the *Nashua* was last seen. Capt. Peterson of the *Gratwick* reported on arriving here that he had searched for four hours for the missing steamer but could find nothing of her or the crew. The *Nashua* was commanded by Capt. Richard Millen and was owned by Capt. McLean of Detroit. She was built in Cleveland in 1888 and was valued at \$15,000.

Capt. A. Muir of this city was pilot on the *Nashua*. Muir's family say they do not think the *Nashua* is lost.

—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 5, 1892.

Port Huron, October 5 (Special) — Telegraphic inquiries at Goderich, South Hampton, Bayfield, and Port Clark bring no tidings of the steamer *Nashua*, which is believed to have foundered on Lake Huron yesterday. The steamer *City of Windsor* came down on the same course the *Nashua* was on, and reports seeing nothing of the missing boat. It is now thought she either foundered or went ashore on Kettle Point. Telegraph lines to Kettle Point are down. The *Nashua* had on board: Capt. Richard Millen, Detroit; Mrs. Richard Millen, Detroit; Capt. Archie, pilot, Port Huron; Charles Shepard, mate, Brockaway, Michigan; John Putnam, engineer, Detroit. Names of the balance of the crew cannot be learned

here. The *Nashua* was loaded with lumber from Georgian Bay to Toledo. She was worth \$15,000 and was insured for \$12,000.

Tugs will be sent out to search for the missing boat as soon as the sea runs down.

—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 6, 1892.

Sand Beach, October 6 (Special) — The tug *Howard*, which found the wreck of the *Nashua* off Bayfield, reports that the boiler and engine were gone and the mast was broken off. A large quantity of wreckage was floating around. No tidings of the crew have yet been received.

—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 6, 1892.

Port Huron, October 6 (Special) — The steam barge *Nashua* was sighted today about 8 miles from the land of Bayfield, Ont. The wreck was abandoned and was afloat bottom side up. It is now almost certain that the entire crew were lost. No additional names of the crew have been learned today. There were two wheelmen, two watchmen, two firemen, and two deckhands and the second engineer in addition to the six names who were sent in yesterday making fifteen in all. Men have been ordered today to patrol the beach in search of the crew. J. J. McClain of Detroit, who owned the *Nashua* with Captain Millen, will leave here at daylight with a tug for the scene of the disaster.

—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 7, 1892.

Goderich, October 6 (Special) — Captain Boggles, of the schooner *Ontario*, arrived tonight and reported having passed through wreckage about twelve miles southwest of Goderich today. It appeared to be part of the upper works of a steambarge. Constant inquiry along the shore brings no tidings that her crew have been saved. A strong southwest wind is blowing tonight, which will bring the wreck nearer shore. The crew, if still afloat in their yawl boat, may be enabled to reach the shore.

—Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 7, 1892.

GREAT LAKES CALENDAR

By BERTRAM B. LEWIS

JUNE, 1951

A power plant, including two huge boilers, was being assembled at a Cleveland dock for shipment to Copenhagen. The 3,000 tons of equipment was believed to be the largest shipment ever sent from the Great Lakes area directly to Europe by vessel under one contract. One hundred freight cars were required to move the boilers and parts from Babcock & Wilcox Company plants at Barberton and Alliance, Ohio.

JUNE, 1951

The *Cliffs Victory*, latest addition to the Great Lakes iron ore fleet, dashed down the lakes from Marquette, Michigan to Cleveland in 38 hours to set a new speed record for the run. Normal running time for the voyage had been 57 hours. After delivering her 13,089 tons of iron ore at the Lakefront Dock the first converted ocean ship to join the lakes ore trade was moored at the East 9th Street Pier where thousands of Clevelanders inspected her.

JUNE, 1951

Return to service of the Steamer *Bethlehem*, which had been idle while being re-powered, added another 12,000 gross tons to the trip capacity of the iron ore fleet. She arrived in Cleveland on June 4th on her season's first trip.

JUNE, 1951

Three persons widely known in lake shipping announced the organization of Hutch-john Towing, Inc. to operate a pusher type towboat and three integrated oil barges on the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Captain John M. Johnson, a retired lake skipper, was president; John T. Jaeger, attorney, was secretary, and Gene C. Hutchinson, a partner in Hutchinson & Company, treasurer.

JUNE, 1951

The second of two 25,000 kilowatt turbo generators for the Cleveland Municipal Light Plant arrived in Cleveland on the steamer *Ravnefjell* from Rotterdam. The shipment made up what was believed to be the largest piece of machinery ever shipped across the ocean directly to Cleveland. It weighed 183 tons. The first generator arrived in Cleveland by rail from New York.

JUNE, 1951

Two passenger ships of the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, which had discontinued its marine operations, were towed from their Detroit River moorings in front of the Veterans Memorial Building to a company dock three blocks down the river. Their removal ended a long dispute between the company and the city of Detroit, which had acquired the dock space in condemnation proceedings. The ships were the *Greater Detroit* and *Eastern States*.

JUNE, 1951

The 226-foot Scottish motor vessel *Lunan* arrived at the Corrigan-McKinney dock of the Republic Steel Corporation with 1,180 gross tons of fluorspar from St. Lawrence, Newfoundland. It was the first importation of this material ever received at the dock.

JUNE, 1951

Two new double-ended, Diesel-powered ferries were to be delivered soon to the Prescott & Ogdensburg Ferry Company, Ltd. of Prescott, Ontario for service on the St. Lawrence River between Prescott and Ogdensburg, New York. The 70-foot craft had a capacity of 200 passengers and 10 automobiles.

JUNE, 1951

Construction of another huge Great Lakes oil tanker, fourth to be built by a Canadian company in the last year, was to be started at Collingwood, Ontario, for the British American Oil Company of Toronto. The \$4,500,000 vessel was to have a capacity of 115,000 barrels at 24-foot draft and a top speed of 13 knots.

JUNE, 1951

The Pittsburgh Steamship Company announced it was giving its officers and crewmen a vacation with pay at the end of the shipping season. The program would affect 500 officers and 1,600 seamen on 61 freighters and was subject to approval of Federal wage stabilization authorities.

JUNE, 1951

The motor vessel *Prins Frederik Willem*, latest addition to the fleet of the Oranje Line, docked at the Riverfront Terminal of the Cleveland Stevedore Company. She was powered by the first Werkspoor Lugt Diesel engine ever installed in an ocean-going ship.

JUNE, 1951

The Great Lakes shipping industry donated \$10,750 to a fund for construction of a memorial chapel at the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York, with more contributions to come.

JUNE, 1951

The shortage of scrap iron and pig iron to be moved by crane vessels had caused a number of these ships to be transferred to the iron ore trade, a situation similar to one which had prevailed in World War II.

JUNE, 1951

The 654-foot steamer *Scott Misener*, queen of the Canadian lakes fleet, sailed on her maiden voyage from Port Colborne, stopping at Toledo to pick up coal for the Soo. She was owned by Colonial Steamships, Ltd. of Port Colborne.

JULY, 1951

Workmen at the shipyard of the Great Lakes Towing Company were fitting out the tug *Washington*, which was the last of eight tugs converted to Diesel power at Erie, Pennsylvania for the company. The craft was to go to Chicago. The tug *Maine*, being converted at the Cleveland yard, also was to go to the Windy City, where the company's fleet would be completely Dieselized.

JULY, 1951

The current *Fortune* Magazine devoted 12 pages, mostly pictures, to describing the industrial development of the Lake Erie port of Buffalo, with emphasis on its steel works expansion.

JULY, 1951

A new iron ore transportation record was set in June, when shipments totaled 13,166,130 gross tons, the Lake Superior Iron Ore Association reported. Highest previous haul for the month was 12,625,000 tons carried in June, 1942.

JULY, 1951

Name of the steamer *Manicouagan*, operated in the newsprint trade by the Quebec & Ontario Transportation Company, Ltd. of Montreal, was changed to the *Washington Times Herald*. The line, which carried newsprint between Cardinal, Ontario and Chicago, also operated the *New York News* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

JULY, 1951

Plans for the addition of another iron ore carrier to the lakes fleet were disclosed when the Hanna Ore & Coal Corporation of Cleveland and the Sand Products Corporation of Detroit announced they had acquired a government surplus vessel from the Federal Maritime Administration. The ship, a C-4, was the property of the Hansand Steamship Corporation, a new company owned jointly by Hanna Coal & Ore, a subsidiary of the M. A. Hanna Company, and Sand Products. She was to be lengthened and placed in operation in 1952.

NOTES

*A Lake Erie Steamboat**

WHO CAN DESCRIBE a Lake Erie steam-boat; a world in miniature, a floating Babel? I embarked in the *Superior* for Cleveland. It was the last of October; and as the time of discontinuance of lake navigation was fast approaching, I doubtless had a more favorable opportunity to see a real Lake Erie cargo, than a midsummer trip would afford. Two decks and three cabins appeared to be crammed with specimens of every department of nature and of art. Such a heterogeneous group of "human faces divine" could hardly be imagined. Every "kindred, and nation and tongue," from Europe at least, if not from every other quarter of the globe, had sent its delegate. Should the Peace Society push its project for a "Congress of Nations," I would suggest a Lake Erie steam-boat, on a late passage, as the most feasible point of meeting. Each trip scarcely fails of furnishing an adequate representation, both of nationality and of professional interest. The hardy, country-loving Swiss; the drawling, drudging Dutchman; the persevering, opinionated Scotchman; and the reckless, roistering Irishman, as well as the shrewd and penetrating Yankee, were tumbled in admirable confusion, person and effects, upon the narrow area of an upper deck; and though their evident diversity of feeling, of interest, and of destination, would seem to operate repulsively, yet making a virtue

of their necessity, they seemed by mutual consent to forget nationality, and commence on that small scale their discipleship in republicanism. Indeed, it seemed that still greater pretensions were conventionally yielded, while their durance should continue; that for the time, they consented to give up the human in feeling and action, and resign themselves to a brief hibernation, as it were, of mere animalism. What more could be done on a chill October night, obliged to sleep sublimely under the canopy of heaven?

But go to the fore-deck, appropriated to horses, mules, and oxen—wagons, carts, and coaches; to the fore-cabin, the resort of the vulgar and vicious, the intemperate and profane, with a gaping crowd of wonderers, just out of the centre of confusion; go to the deck-cabin, the prison-house of the "women and children," and to the dining-cabin, the sitting-room of the men, to discuss politics, religion, literature and the wonders of steam; suppose all these departments to send forth, which in reality is no imagination, from the throats of man and brute, a simultaneous effort of even moderate energy; add the roaring of steam and fire, and the rattling of machinery; the trumpeted orders of the captain, and the prompt response of the seamen; and the witness of it all must acknowledge a steam-boat on Lake Erie to be a floating Babel.

* Excerpted from *The Boatman's Magazine*, I, 22-23, October 1834, by Thomas D. Odle of Ann Arbor, Michigan. This issue was published in Cleveland, Ohio, edited by Reverend Stephen Peet.

Sonar Sounding

ON JUNE 22, 1950, I was taken aboard the motor-ship *F. G. Gray* at Put-in-Bay and given an opportunity to see the techniques used by the U. S. Lake Survey in collecting data for a new depth chart of the western part of Lake Erie. The *F. G. Ray* was built in 1933 in New Jersey and used as a private yacht until World War II when the U. S. Coast Guard took it over. The Lake Survey took her over after the war ended. She is 60 feet long and draws about five feet, with a net displacement of 33 tons. She carries an aluminum outboard boat which is swung out on davits for use. She has bunks for all of her crew and a galley.

The U. S. Lake Survey uses the *F. G. Ray* only for sounding waters less than 24 feet deep, and operates the *Williams*, 150 feet long, for sounding deeper water. The *Williams* has been equipped recently with a radar transmitter and uses four land stations to check its location. This is accurate, and the exact position of the boat is known all of the time.

The staff of the *F. G. Ray* consists of well trained members. Mr. Vernon Kimball is graduate engineer from the University of Maine, and this is his second year as Hydrographic Engineer in charge of the ship. John Jureyzsyzyn is the engineer in charge of boat operation, and is responsible for operation and maintenance of the sonic recorders, ship-to-shore and walkie-talkie radios. James Moore is Cartographic Engineering Aid. Harry Gustkey, a senior in the University of Detroit College of Engineering, is also a C. E. A. Robert Bernard and Robert Edwards are listed as Surveyors and C. E. A. Charles Elberston, a graduate of the Houghton College of Mines, is listed as Hydrographic Engineer. Captain Wood is a senior engineering student at Georgia Tech. He is enlisted in the U. S. Engineers Reserves, and was assigned to this crew for training on temporary basis.

Sounding is done with a supersonic

sounding machine, also called an echo depth recorder, and Mr. Kimball said that it is really underwater radar. Before starting the day's sounding the instrument is adjusted by checking against an object at known depths, i.e., an aluminum bar, 13 feet long, which is lowered directly under the oscillator to 10-20-30 foot depths. This bar is suspended for the test under the bow of the boat and lowered by two chains, one on each side. It is hauled up on to deck after the test.

For establishing the location of soundings in the island region, the *Ray* sends men ashore with transits and triangulates whenever flags signal the instrument men at these shore hubs that a sounding is being made. The boat follows straight line courses, whose directions are recorded, and the sounding instrument makes a continuous record of depths along the course. Various colored flags are used as signals to the hub-men, as follows: An orange-red-white flag (ORW) indicates the beginning and end of each course; RWR is the attention flag, meaning that the instrument man should call the ship on his walkie-talkie instrument; one color, red or orange or white, means that both hub-men should take readings; black over orange is the signal to the hub-man to move to the next hub on his line and re-establish his course.

Flags are hoisted at one-minute intervals along the course. The boat clock and the clocks at the two hubs are set together before starting the day's work, and the flags are hoisted for 20 seconds before the end of each minute. The sounding record graph is marked every time a flag is hoisted, and a further check is made by two sextant readings at the same time. In shallow water, a distance reading is made by a rod on deck. All of this data is to be used by Mr. Kimball and his assistants during the winter at Detroit in making a new chart of this region.

—THOMAS H. LANGLOIS

The Erie Fleet

In May of this year, 1951, the Erie Railroad celebrated the 100th anniversary of its beginnings when the inaugural train proceeded from Piermont, New York, to Dunkirk on the shores of Lake Erie to be met with a cheering reception committee, the ringing of bells and the firing of gun salutes.

This story and the subsequent one of the modern Erie railroad system has been attractively told in a commemorative booklet ERIE RAILROAD AND ITS BEGINNINGS—AND TODAY.

In honor of this anniversary and because the Erie was the first railroad to operate a subsidiary steamship line on the lakes, we reprint the following history of the Erie Fleet which originally appeared in the February, 1951, issue of the DETROIT MARINE HISTORIAN, through the courtesy of the author and editor of the HISTORIAN, Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S. J.

—The Editor.

THE FIRST RAILROAD to operate a steamship line on the lakes was the predecessor of the Erie Railroad, The New York and Erie Railroad, which in 1852 established the Union Steamboat Company. Fourteen ships were on charter in the first two years of service. Some names are recorded, *California*, *Indiana*, *Genesee Chief*, *Owego*, *Paubasset*, *Portsmouth*, *Princeton*, *Oregon*, *Gov. Cushman*, and *Susquehanna*.

In 1854 the line built the propellers *Jersey City*, *Passaic* and *Canisteo*, and two years later added the *Elmira*, *Olean* and *New York*. The *Marquette* was chartered in 1859. The new vessels *Wabash* and *Atlantic* (later *Homer Warren*) were built in 1863, and the *Arctic* and *Pacific* a year later.

In the early Seventies the larger (c. 1000 tons) propellers *Newburgh*, *James Fisk, Jr.*, *Jay Gould*, and *B. W. Blanchard* were built for the line, and the *Galena*, *Mendota* and *Wenona*, chartered. The next units in the Union Line were the large propellers *Waverly*, 1874, *Starucca*, 1875, *Avon*, 1877, *Portage*, 1875, and *Nyack*, 1878. Most of these were built by the railroad's subsidiary, the Union Drydock Company, at Buffalo. The *Nyack* is of special interest; she was 231 feet long by 33 foot beam and had accommodations for 150 passengers. In the Nineties she was sold to Crosby and served on Lake Michigan until 1915.

The last wooden vessels of the fleet were the *New York* and *Rochester* (later *Sidney C. McLouth*), of 2000 tons. Unlike their wooden predecessors they did not have the high arched side braces.

Steel hulls in the line began with the *H. J. Jewett* (later *Binghampton*), 265 x 40, with two stacks, side by side. The *Tioga* of 1885, 285 feet long, carried her machinery amidships, as did the big *Che-mung* (later *Geo. F. Brownell*) and *Owego*, 340 footers, built in 1888. The *Owego's* time of 54 hours, 16 minutes, between Chicago and Buffalo is one of the fastest passages recorded on the lakes. In 1896 the *Ramapo* (later *F. D. Underwood*) 340 feet, was built, and a year later the *Starucca* (later *Delos W. Cooke* and *Steel King*) came out. In the early 1900's the *Geo. J. Gould* and *S. C. Reynolds* were acquired from the *Wabash* Line and renamed *Granville A. Richardson* and *John G. McCullough*.

Two large steel tugs, built in 1913, the *Alice Stafford* and *C. S. Goldsborough*, towed the Erie vessels up and down the Chicago River.

The Erie Ships had originally a red stack with black top, white hulls and cabins. Later the hulls were black, and the Erie diamond appeared on the stacks of the newer ships. In the Twentieth Century the stack design was changed to a black field with four white stripes, each stripe bearing a letter of the word Erie.

Also, from about 1895 to 1910, the cabins were painted a bright orange.

In 1915 the Erie Railroad was required to dispose of its Great Lakes fleet. The *Underwood*, *Cooke*, *Tioga* and *Richardson* were acquired by the Great Lakes Transit Corporation. Most of the others went to coast buyers. The *Brownell* was sunk by enemy action in the Mediterranean in

1918, while her sister the *Owego* carried several Chinese names until about 1939. The tug *Goldsborough*, now called *Chicago*, is in service in New York harbor. On the lakes the only survivors of this once prosperous fleet are the Nicholson craneship *Steel King*, formerly the *Starucca*, and the *Nassau* at Chicago, formerly the *Gould* and *Granville A. Richardson*.

Buffalo Ship Enrollments

A LETTER to the editor of INLAND SEAS from Mr. Erik Heyl of Buffalo, reads as follows:

Gentlemen:

Mr. Inches's remark in his article "Wooden Ship Building," concerning the building and financing of ships on shares, reminds me of an amusing enrollment I recently came across in the Collector of Customs Office in Buffalo.

In the office were the original enrollments for the District of Buffaloe Creek, Niagara County, starting with the year 1817 and coming down to date. I made a copy of the enrollment of every steamer which was enrolled here beginning with the *Walk in the Water* and ending with 1865, when all vessels were remeasured.

Among the enrollments is the one I refer to above; to wit: April 26, 1852 #56 Propeller *Niagara*. Built 1849 at Ohio City, Ohio. 173'4x24'4x11'1. 450 tons. 1 deck — 1 mast.

Owners:

Ansel R. Cobb, Buffalo, N. Y.,
11,000 parts of vessel
20,000

J. S. Halloway, Cleveland, Ohio,
1,080 parts of vessel
20,000

H. P. Southwick, Cleveland, Ohio,
454 55/100 parts of vessel
20,000

Wm. B. Martin, Cleveland, Ohio,
400 parts of vessel
20,000

William Sutton, Buffalo, N. Y.,
1,040 parts of vessel
20,000

Franklin Lee, Buffalo, N. Y.,
1,115 46/100 parts of vessel
20,000

William H. Abell, Buffalo, N. Y.,
3,495 36/100 parts of vessel
20,000

Silas H. Varco, Cleveland, Ohio,
1,363 63/100 parts of vessel
20,000

This accounts for 19,950 of the 20,000 parts; where's the rest?

The *Niagara* was re-enrolled April April 21, 1853 #67; April 22, 1853 #68; April 23, 1853 #69; April 11, 1854 #55; July 21, 1854 #157; September 7, 1855 #205; September 7, 1855 #206; August 23, 1859 #85; June 25, 1860 #59. Up to and including July 21, 1854 #157 the enrollments were exactly like the first one detailed, excepting for a few very minor changes in holdings. With September 7, 1855 #205 American Transportation Company and others were the owners.

Sincerely,
ERIK HEYL

Mr. Heyl compiles historical sketches of pre-1870 ships, accompanying them with scale water color drawings. He has offered INLAND SEAS a copy of his compiled list of *Buffaloe District Enrollments* from 1818 to 1865, a valuable source for Great Lakes research.

Water Accident Prevention Panel of Greater Cleveland

FOR SOME YEARS the Coast Guard and Coast Guard Auxiliary have been trying to "sell" safe boating and safety on the Lakes. Public response and help from radio, newspaper, and other publicity contacts were poor because safety is not news.

On April 10, 1950, four small boys paddled off Euclid Beach in a surplus rubber life raft, were blown out into the lake, and were found dead of exposure the next morning in spite of an intensive all-night search by four Coast Guard boats manned by Coast Guardsmen and Auxiliaries.

Public reaction to this tragedy was immediate and overwhelming. Applications to join the Auxiliary poured in. Various organizations of all types offered assistance in any line of endeavor that would help prevent a recurrence. The Coast Guard, Fire Departments, and Police Departments were subjected to much adverse criticism. Investigations were held.

The Coast Guard and Auxiliary were quick to take advantage of the situation and formed the Water Accident Prevention Panel of Greater Cleveland, with representatives from the two above-mentioned services plus the U. S. Power Squadron, the Cleveland Engineering Society, and the Red Cross. This panel has met monthly since last April and has performed a number of worthwhile services designed to increase water safety, among which are the following:

Preparation of local ordinances for adoption by communities and towns along the waterfront. These ordinances are patterned after Coast Guard regulations relating to equipment, reckless navigation, etc., and will give local police the authority to enforce safety requirements and thus help the far-flung Coast Guard.

Spot announcements concerning safety rules and emergency action, for use by radio stations.

Posters on Water Safety put out by Coast Guard and Red Cross, and placed in schools, business establishments, yacht clubs, etc.

Talks and lectures by members of the panel to PTA groups, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, schools, boy scouts, sea scouts, etc.

Water Safety articles in newspapers—interviews with sports editors on the radio—boat inspection and proper equipment on TV shows.

Dramatized radio program, simulated rescue, for radio stations.

Special information for boat liveries, with new type of contract for renters which will give pertinent information on proper equipment and define individual responsibilities more clearly.

Increased publicity through all media on Coast Guard Auxiliary practical and theoretical training, courtesy boat inspection, Coast Guard boarding and responsibilities, Red Cross swimming classes, and Power Squadron theory courses.

New listings in Cleveland telephone directories for ease in finding the Coast Guard number.

Liaison with National Safety Council with a view toward taking over all boating safety work.

Location and installation of 50 "dumb compasses" along a fifty mile lakefront stretch (with Cleveland in the center). These compasses, installed at private homes, will insure quick and accurate bearings when a distress is seen, and thus alert the Coast Guard and Coast Guard Auxiliary much sooner than heretofore. Private boats have been made available at some of these lakefront homes, so that Coast Guard forces may have floating equipment near the scene of the distress if it is far from the nearest Coast Guard station.

Early History of International Shipmasters' Association*

IN THE WINTER OF 1886, the first mate of the Steamer *Boston* of the Western Transit Company of Buffalo, New York, died. Captain John H. Ivers, then master of the Steamer *Fountain City*, a propeller in the Western Transit Company, went to the home of the family of his departed friend to offer his services and his sympathy. The widow very reluctantly told Captain Ivers that she had no money and asked him for the loan of \$50.00 to defray the expense of burying her husband. The captain, not having that amount with him, told the widow that he would return with the amount later that evening. After leaving the house, Captain Ivers went to the store of Felthouse & Russell, a vessel supply house located on Main Street where the licensed officers of steamboats used to congregate. There he met several masters and mates and told them about the circumstances of the deceased mate. Among those present were Captains Martin Niland, John Disset, Wm. Dickson, James Drake, Parlance McFarland, Joseph Hulligan, James Green, Patrick Shea, Lawrence Green, Frank Welcome, James Condon, John Byrne, Robert Smith and John Ivers.

Captain Ivers told his associates that this family needed money and would not be able to pay it back. Captain Niland then took off his cap, placed a five dollar bill into it, and passed it around. Those present at that time, and those who came later, contributed and in a short time the donations amounted to \$125.00. Captain John Ivers and Captain James Condon, then master of the Steamer *Arctic*, were detailed to take the \$125.00 to the widow, which they did that evening. The widow was very grateful and began to cry, saying that she did not know how she could

repay the kindness, but that she would pay the money back even if she had to take in washing, and that it was her wishes and prayers that no other widow of a shipmaster would be placed in like circumstances upon the death of her husband. The captains assured her that there would be nothing to pay back as this money was a donation from the friends of her husband, who were employed on the line boats.

After Captain Ivers and Captain Condon returned to the store of Felthouse & Russell, a general discussion arose about forming a little society among members of the profession, where in case of death of a member the widow or beneficiary would receive \$100.00, each member being assessed his portion. This was later changed to \$1,000.00.

This being the last of the week, it was agreed that a meeting be held on the following Tuesday evening and Captain Wm. Dickson was elected chairman. Later that same evening, Captain James Condon was elected secretary. Captain John Disset was appointed a committee of one to take the necessary steps to secure a charter for this new society, then known as the Excelsior Marine Benevolent Association. The Board of Managers were: William Dickson, Valentine Jones, George S. Hogg, John H. Disset, Donald Gillies, John Cornish, Lawrence Green.

A meeting was held every Tuesday evening until the charter was secured from Albany. After securing the charter, a discussion arose about numbering the members as they joined the Association. Owing to the fact that Captain Niland had rendered the new association such valuable service, along the line of creating a favorable opinion of this Association among the vessel managers and owners,

* From the program of the Grand Lodge Convention, I. S. A., Cleveland, Ohio, January 23-25, 1951.

the members thought it fitting to honor him by giving him Number 1.

The wife of Captain Disset (who was formerly a schoolteacher) with the aid of an attorney who was a friend of the family drew up the first constitution and by-laws and also secured the first ritual. This constitution, by-laws and ritual were changed in January, 1891 when the Grand Lodge was formed in Buffalo.

In due time, Captain Ivers of Port Huron received word from Captain Alexander Clark of Buffalo that a lodge could be organized in Port Huron as a branch of the Buffalo Lodge, to work under the Buffalo Lodge's charter; and that if twenty prospective members could be secured he would come to Port Huron and organize Lodge Number Two. In a few days he came to Port Huron and organized with a charter membership of twenty-two.

Captain Ivers then withdrew from Buffalo Lodge, and joined Port Huron Lodge, becoming its president for the winter of 1888-1889. He was also delegate to Buffalo in the year 1891 at the time that the Grand Lodge was formed with Captain Alexander Clark, its first president, the Grand Lodge still retaining the name E. M. B. A. which in 1893 was changed to Shipmasters Association.

The first convention of the various branches of the Association was held in Buffalo, New York, January 8, 1891. Each lodge was entitled to two delegates for every twenty-five members. What is designated as the Grand Lodge was then formed and the officers were selected from the different local lodges.

The second meeting of the Grand Lodge was held in Cleveland, January 21, 1892. Seven lodges, with a membership of 800 masters, were represented. The growth of the Association during the year was remarkable, showing an increase of 120 per cent.

The third meeting of the Grand Lodge was held at Port Huron, Michigan, January 17, 1893. Nine lodges, with a membership of 900, were represented. At this

convention the constitution was amended to some extent and the name changed to Shipmasters' Association. The old officers were again chosen.

On January 16th, 1894, the fourth annual convention was held in Chicago. The reports showed that the Association had been prosperous in both numbers and finance, and that the new or amended constitution was working well. The reports of the President showed that there were 1,000 members enrolled out of 1,086 masters of steam crafts reported by the Commissioner of Navigation, thus making it evident that most of the licensed masters on the lakes were members of the Association.

The fifth annual meeting was held in Detroit, January 15, 1895. The President's report stated that, although the season had been a bad one, the Order was in a flourishing condition. New pilot rules were thoroughly discussed and carefully revised, and the bill known as the White or Goulder bill was indorsed by the convention. The provisions and details of this bill had been advanced by experienced members of the Association. At this meeting the mantle of the presidency fell upon the shoulders of Captain C. E. Benham of Cleveland Lodge, the other officers being re-elected.

The sixth annual meeting was held in Washington, D. C. at the usual time, January, 1896. The honor of holding the presidency of the Grand Lodge, having been held in Buffalo for some time, came to Cleveland for one year, and was then captured by Detroit through the election of George McCullagh.

The seventh annual meeting of the Grand Lodge was held in Washington, D. C. Since 1897, the Grand Lodge has been held several times in Washington, also in nearly every principal port on the Great Lakes. The 1951 Grand Lodge Convention is the 61st in the colorful history of the International Shipmasters' Association.

The Great Lakes in Print

An index to magazine articles and notes on the Great Lakes which have appeared in current periodicals not exclusively devoted to the lakes.

American City, June, 1951, pp. 82-83. Rochester Goes to Lake Ontario for Water, by Kenneth J. Knapp.

American Heritage, Summer, 1951 (Detroit 250th Anniversary issue), pp. 32-38. Detroit Besieged, by Howard H. Peckham. Illus.

pp. 39-43. Detroit — Old and New, by Raymond C. Miller. Illus.

pp. 44-45. Detroit and Canada, by Goldwin Smith. Illus.

pp. 46-49. The Lumber Frontier, by Sidney Glazer. Illus.

American Journal of Science, April, 1951, pp. 257-300. Radiocarbon Dating of Late-Pleistocene Events, by Richard Foster Flint and Edward S. Deevey, Jr.

June, 1951, pp. 401-429. The Stages of Lake Chicago: Their Causes and Correlations, by J. Harlen Bretz.

Atlantic Fisherman, February, 1951, pp. 17, 34. Ice Fishing on Lake Erie.

Business Week, April 28, 1951, pp. 62, 68. At \$250,000 It's a Real Bargain — If You Can Use It. For Sale — a Town. (Nahma, Michigan) Illus.

February 17, 1951, pp. 98, 101. Ore Haul Revives Seaway.

May 12, 1951, pp. 22-23. Ore Unloaders Busy Again. Illus.

May 19, 1951, pp. 22-24. Warping an Oreboat Across Country. (The Cliffs Victory) Illus. Map.

Canadian Field-Naturalist 1950, pp. 139-140. Northern Breeding Waterfowl Summering at Niagara Falls, by R. W. Sheppard.

The Canadian Fish Culturist, July, 1950, p. 22. The Use of Nylon Netting in the Gill-net Fishery of the Lake Erie Whitefish, by G. H. Lawler.

Canadian Historical Review, June, 1951, pp. 126-138. Commodore Chauncey's At-

tack on Kingston Harbour, November 10, 1812.

Canadian Mining Journal, August, 1950, pp. 56-59. The St. Lawrence Seaway, by V. C. Wansbrough.

Diesel Progress, April, 1951, pp. 50-51. Unique Cargo Ship Dieselized, by William H. Gottlieb. (The Michigan.)

July, 1951, pp. 56-57. Conversion of Great Lakes Ore Carriers, by Wilbur W. Young. (The Eugene W. Pargny and the Homer D. Williams.)

August, 1951, pp. 51-53. Steam to Diesel for Tug Fleet, by Laurence C. Turner. (The Great Lakes Towing Company.) Illus.

August, 1951, pp. 70-71. Diesel Ship *Prins Frederik Willem*, by Wilbur W. Young. Illus.

Diesel Times, July, 1951, pp. 1-8. Tug Fleet Converts From Steam to GM Diesel Power, by Laurence C. Turner. (The Great Lakes Towing Company.) Illus.

Dock and Harbour Authority, November, 1950, pp. 203-208. St. Lawrence Seaway, by H. F. Cornick.

November, 1950, pp. 219-225; December, 1950, pp. 249-252. Winter Navigation on St. Lawrence, by J. G. G. Kerry.

Economic Geology, January-February, 1951, pp. 84-85. Aeromagnetic Iron Ore Discoveries in Minnesota.

Engineering Journal, August, 1950, pp. 672-681. A Plan for the Development of the St. Lawrence (Lachine Section), by F. S. Small.

October, 1950, pp. 869-872. The Edmonton-Great Lakes Pipe Line, by L. F. Kahle.

November, 1950, pp. 982-984. Discussion by J. G. G. Kerry of the paper, A Plan for the Development of the St. Lawrence (Lachine Section), by F. S. Small.

January, 1951, pp. 2-4, 12. Organization and Responsibilities of the International Joint Commission by General The Honourable A. G. L. McNaughton.

January, 1951, pp. 18-22. Sarnia — Where the Twain Will Meet, by J. R. Nicholson. (Petro-chemical industry.) Illus.

April, 1951, pp. 270-276. Steam Generating Stations of the Hydro-electric Power Commission of Ontario, by Richard L. Hearn. Illus. Diag.

June, 1951, pp. 536-543. The St. Lawrence Waterway — an All-Canadian and Very Deep Route, by J. G. G. Kerry.

Engineering News-Record, April 26, 1951, pp. 36-37. What if an A-Bomb Hits Chicago's Water Supply?

July 12, 1951, pp. 39-40. Survey Finds Lake Erie Foul; Ohio Lab to Help in Clean-up.

Fairbanks-Morse News, March-April, 1951, pp. 21-22. Canal Carrier. (The Michigan.)

Fishing Gazette, July, 1951, pp. 33, 37. The Need for Natural Spawning on the Great Lakes. (to be continued)

Fortune, July, 1951, pp. 91-102. Made in Buffalo. Col. illus.

Heat Engineering (Foster Wheeler Corporation), January, 1951, pp. 9-12. Imperial Sarnia Added to Great Lakes Tanker Fleet. Illus.

July, 1951, pp. 114-120. Reboiling the *Homer D. Williams*, by George J. Kirschner. Illus.

Holiday, August, 1950, pp. 90-93, 104, 106-109. Great Lakes Passage, by Phil Stong. Illus. (The *Benjamin F. Fairless*.)

July, 1951, pp. 26-39; 120-121. Holiday in Michigan, by Phil Stong. Illus.

Iron and Steel Engineer, May, 1951, pp. 141-2, 144. Record Ore Haul Needed to Supply 1951 Furnace Demand. Illus.

The Journal of Geology, May, 1951, pp. 244-258. Causes of the Glacial Lake Stages in Saginaw Basin Michigan, by J. Harlen Bretz.

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This Month's Contributors

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DR. FRANK R. KRAMER, Head of the Department of Classical Languages and Literature at Heidelberg College, has published many articles chiefly in classical

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Book Reviews

NORTH ATLANTIC, BOAT AGAINST BOAT OVER 3,000 MILES, by Adlard Coles. New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1950. \$3.50.

Not often do we have the opportunity to read a first hand account of small sailing yachts racing across the hazardous Atlantic. Adlard Coles, veteran British yachtsman, gives this and more in his yarn about three small English yachts which left London Docks together in the cargo liner *Araby* on May 2nd, 1950, as they set out to participate in the American 635-mile Bermuda Race and the Transatlantic Race back to England.

The yachts were *Mokoia*, just under 40 feet in overall length, *Samuel Pepys*, 31 feet overall, and the author's own boat *Cohoe*, 32 feet overall. In writing of these three craft, the author says, "I write of their adventures together, as I saw them and from my own notes, but the value of the story is enormously enhanced by the addition of extracts from the diary kept by Erroll Bruce, skipper of *Samuel Pepys*." In addition, many pages in whole or in part from the various logs have been entered as a part of the account, and these serve to further one's understanding of the crew's experiences in fair and foul weather.

Bearing in mind the vital factor that the weather is to the sailor, one is impressed by the numerous photographs in color and half-tone which depict the sea and the sky in the various moods encountered by the three yachts during their initial race to Bermuda and particularly during the 2,875-mile Transatlantic Race to Plymouth, England. It was during this last race up through the North Atlantic, the region of fog, ice and gales, that the heavy seas and severe winds caused major damage to some of the yachts, while at least one barely avoided broaching to and capsizing.

Although the tone and information in this book are essentially for the yachting enthusiast, Mr. Coles pens a pretty descriptive phrase now and then when he speaks of Bermuda, New England and the Atlantic Ocean. For those of us who get some of our traveling in an armchair with a book, these descriptions are vivid and satisfying. The author even treats us to some interesting observations when he makes the inevitable comparisons between American and British food, scenery, transportation, mores and, of course, yachting. His remarks in this vein are both appreciative and critical, but in no respect do they seem to be unreasoned.

Coles apologizes for his book by saying that he wrote it in four weeks and that it was printed, illustrated and bound in six weeks. Generally speaking, perhaps more time should go into the creation of a book, but in this case the author's apology is unnecessary. *North Atlantic* is a well written book; it has an excellent format; it includes fine photographs, detailed race result charts and complete diagrams of the three yachts in the story. This tale will hold and stimulate the interest of both yachting and travel enthusiasts.

—R. B. C.

THE OLD NORTHWEST, PIONEER PERIOD, 1815-1840, by R. Carlyle Buley. Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1950. 2 vols. \$12.00.

Strangely enough, no one before has written a comprehensive history of the Old Northwest. This includes the six states formed, in whole or in part, out of the first American colony, the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio. Out of this came Ohio,¹ Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and the eastern part of Minnesota. No one is better qualified to master the mass of material dealing with the early history of these states than Professor Buley, of the history department of Indiana University. These handsome and well illustrated volumes come near to giving almost all the information that anyone would be apt to require about the Old Northwest.

There was pioneer life then, clearing of forests and the like, but the days of real hardship and Indian raids were over. Villages and even cities were developing, though even the most optimistic citizens could not foresee the extent of their future growth. Thus the *Cleveland Herald* of 1826 could state that the good gravel soil of its streets would "forever render it unnecessary to pave them." In a decade it thought differently, and paved the sidewalks on the main thoroughfare.

Readers of INLAND SEAS will find much material on lake history. Buley reminds us that the *Walk-in-the-Water* was not the first lake steamboat. The *Ontario*, built at Sackets Harbor, New York, and the Canadian *Frontenac*, built at Kingston, were used on Lake Ontario in 1817, a year before the first venture of the *Walk-in-the-Water*. The *Walk-in-the-Water*, with its 330 tons and passenger capacity of more than 200, was notable enough. She was the first steamboat to enter Lake Michigan. In 1821 she made the round trip from Detroit to Green Bay in 13 days.

Boats soon became a familiar sight on the lakes. In 1838 their tonnage aggregated 15,000 tons. In 1827 the *Henry Clay* made the round trip between Buffalo and Detroit in 3 days and 19 hours. Daily service began in 1830. In 1836 the *General Porter* made the Buffalo-Detroit run in 30 hours, or 25 hours running time. Lake Erie had six steamboats in 1826, and 11 in 1833, when the first association of boat owners was formed. These 11 boats carried 61,485 passengers, 42,956 of them west out of Buffalo. There were three trips to the upper lakes, two to Chicago and one to Green Bay. The association had 18 boats in 1834, the last year that definite figures were kept. In 1837 there were 40 or 50 steamboats in the lake trade. Chicago had 250 arrivals in 1835, often witnessing a dozen boats in the harbor at the same time.

A Buffalo-Chicago line was started in 1839, taking 16 days for the round trip. Cabin passage, "found," cost \$20; steerage passage, \$10. The first cabin steamer on the lakes was the *Michigan*, built by Oliver Newberry of Detroit in 1833. The *James Madison*, which began its lake career in 1837, had 30 berths in the ladies' cabins, and 23 in the men's. Around the dining cabin were 15 staterooms with two berths each, and on the hurricane deck was the saloon, with 12 berths.

The next few years saw even more imposing vessels. Newberry's *Illinois*, built in 1838, was 205 feet long, and surpassed in size only by the Mississippi River's *Natchez*. It made the Buffalo-Chicago run in five days. Even larger was the *Great Western*, with 781 tons.

Even on the best boats travel was far from comfortable. Charles M. Baker's journal in 1838 depicts a higgledy-piggledy crowding of men, women and children in all stages of dress and undress, in "promiscuous confusion upon the floor like the slain on the field of battle."¹

1. *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. V, p. 398.

Much more might be quoted about the early lake boats. There is also much information about fishing in those days, and lake commerce. The work is really a source book for the early history and life of the lake states and the great bodies of water adjoining. It can be strongly recommended.

—G. W. T.

THIS IS DETROIT, 1701-1951, TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS IN PICTURES, by M. M. Quaife; edited by William White. Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1951.

This is Detroit's great year, its 250th anniversary, fittingly commemorated in this official collection of fine photographs, with running commentary by the eminent historian, M. M. Quaife.

All aspects of the city's life and history receive attention. One snare that besets many such commemorative books has been avoided, the practice of loading the volume with portraits of local personages, celebrities perhaps in their own town but of no especial interest outside.

G.L.H.S. readers will particularly delight in the views of the Detroit River and its boats from the *Walk-in-the-Water* (shown in the section dealing with early history and not in that dealing with the river) to the *Noronic*.

All in all, an impressive contribution to the historical record of a great metropolis.

—G. W. T.

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SEA LAMPREY (*PETROMYZON MARINUS*) IN MICHIGAN, by Vernon C. Applegate. Washington, 1950. (U. S. Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service. Special Scientific Report: Fisheries, No. 55.)

This extensive report, over 200 pages in length and with many charts and tables, is an invaluable source of information about this menace to lake fishing.

November 8, 1921 is a historic date in Great Lakes history, for then the first adult sea lamprey was recovered in Lake Erie. Previously the only examples in this area had been found in Lake Ontario and its tributaries. They must have traveled by the Welland Canal, but as that was opened in 1829, it took them 92 years to make the journey. It is arguable that the enlargement of the canal and the St. Lawrence Waterway will facilitate the migration of the lampreys into the western lakes.

In the next few years other specimens were found in Lake Erie, and on August 1, 1936 one was found five miles south of the Sturgeon Bay Canal, Door County, Wisconsin. In August, 1946 one was found off Isle Royale in Lake Superior. Many rivers flowing into the lakes are now regular spawning grounds. This suggests that adequate barriers, dams and the like, could be erected to bar the passage of the lampreys. Other remedies are not suggested.

This study offers excellent data for knowledge of the lamprey and its habits. A bibliography lists articles in magazines and government documents.

—G. W. T.

FORESTS AND MEN, by William B. Greeley. Garden City, New York, Doubleday 1951. \$3.00.

As a former Chief Forester of the United States, with service in this position followed by more than 20 years with private lumber interests, Greeley is in a position to tell the story of timber conservation. He records the early days when so-called "practical men" ruled the lumber business, and scoffed at attempts to regulate cutting or enforce reforestation. It may have been Theodore Roosevelt's most lasting contribution to our national welfare that he made conservation of natural resources a public policy. He aroused also the enthusiasm of younger men, of whom Gifford Pinchot was easily chief and Greeley was a devoted admirer.

While the scope of this book is general, there are a number of passages of Great Lakes interest. He recalls the Green Bay, Wisconsin fire in 1871, starting on the very night that Mrs. O'Leary's cow, according to the legend, kicked over a stable lantern and set Chicago ablaze. The Green Bay fire burned out Peshtigo and other Wisconsin lumber towns, swept over 1,280,000 acres and took 600 lives. On the same day 2,000,000 acres in the Manistee and Au Sable valleys of Michigan were devastated by another great conflagration. Another great Michigan fire, covering much the same territory, took place in 1881. That year there were 169 deaths in Michigan fires.

Minnesota has suffered, too. The Hinckley fire of 1894 spread over 20 miles, and accounted for 418 lives. Twenty-four years later fires in the Moose Lake region practically wiped out the city of Cloquet, running over 250,000 acres and killing 453 people.

As an offset to fire damage has been the reforestation program. In June, 1949 the Upper Peninsula Tree Farms project was officially started when the governor of Michigan presented certificates to the 18 owners of 620,000 acres of woodlands; 106 tree farms were also enrolled in the Lower Peninsula. Wisconsin has had "Industrial Forests" since 1944. Their 544,000 acres contain over 40,000,000 trees. Minnesota's state forests go back to 1899; the state now ranks second in this resource, the state forests covering 2,011,270 acres.

Mr. Greeley has written an interesting book, which will have to be consulted freely by all interested in the history of forest conservation, without which the Great Lakes would have had a very different history.

—G. W. T.

FOREST RESOURCES OF THE LAKE STATES REGION, by R. N. Cunningham and Forest Survey Staff, Lake States Forest Experiment Station. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950. .30

This is the first of a new series, *Forest Resource Reports*. It covers Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, pointing out that forests are not filling local lumber requirements in the lake states. Only one half the needed amount is now produced. This is because heavy cutting has created a poorly balanced growing stock, and growth is unsatisfactory. Some remote territories are still available for lumbering, and should be used. Industries should concentrate more on aspen, elm, paper birch, red maple and beech, and reduce their use of pine, spruce and the better hardwoods. More small and defective timber should be utilized, and better protection furnished against fire, and animal damage.

The booklet has a number of illustrations and charts, and a list of important books and articles.

—G. W. T.